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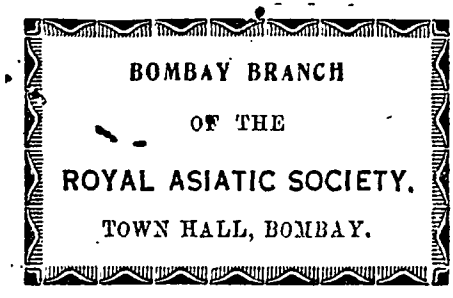

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EX-KING OF THE FRENCH.

FROM AN ORIGINAL DRAWING

MEMOIRS

OF THE

HOUSE OF ORLEANS;

INCLUDING

SKETCHES AND ANECDOTES OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS IN FRANCE DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

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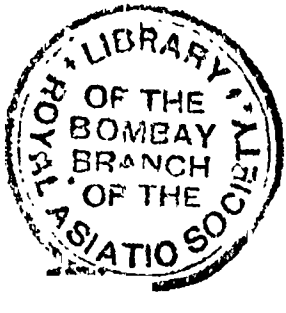
BY

W. COOKE TAYLOR, LL.D.,

AUTHOR OF

"ROMANTIC BIOGRAPHY OF THE AGE OF ELIZABETH;" "STUDENT'S MANUALS OF ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY," ETC.



IN THREE VOLUMES.

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HISTORY

THE HOUSE OF ORLEANS.

CHAPTER I.

TREATMENT OF THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS BY THE CONVENTION.—THE SPY BENOIT AND FOUQUIER TINVILLE. — THE ROYAL EXILES. — RETURN OF THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS TO PARIS.—HER RECEPTION BY LOUIS XVIII. —THE ORLEANS FAMILY REUNITED.—ACCIDENT TO THE DUCHESS.— A SECOND ACCIDENT.—HER DEATH.—THE DUC DE MONTPENSIER AND THE COUNT DE BEAUJOLAIS.—HOW TREATED IN PRISON.—THEIR DEVICE TO OBTAIN BETTER LODGINGS. — REACTION AGAINST THE JACOBINS.—HORRIBLE MASSACRE IN THE PRISON OF MARSEILLES. — ACCOUNT OF IT BY THE DUC DE MONTPENSIER.—THE ENGLISH PRISONER. — EXERTIONS OF THE DUC TO LIBERATE HIM. — NARRATIVE BY THE DUC OF HIS ATTEMPTED ESCAPE. — HOW IT WAS FRUSTRATED. — VOLUNTARY RETURN TO PRISON OF THE COUNT DE BEAUJOLAIS.—THE COMMANDANT, GENERAL WILLOT.— DEPARTURE OF THE PRINCES FOR AMERICA. — THEIR RECEPTION BY GENERAL O'HARA, THE GOVERNOR OF GIBRALTAR.

THE Duchess of Orleans, as we have already stated, was not sent to Marseilles with the rest of the Bourbons. The feeble state of her health would have rendered such a journey dangerous; probably, her separation from the Duke was a circumstance which caused the Jacobins to treat her with leniency. A special decree of the 8th of April, 1793, placed her under the charge of the municipality of Vernon; and she was

allowed to remain in her castle of Bizy, where her father, the Duc de Penthièvre, had died on the 6th of the preceding March. Two commissioners sent from Paris, and two gendarmes from the neighbourhood guarded her night and day in her apartments,—a precaution not very necessary, since her illness rendered her almost incapable of motion, and she was for six months confined to her bed, having for her only consolation the company of her two friends, the ladies La Charce and de Chastellux.

Towards the end of the summer, some conspiracies against the Republic exploded in the interior of France, upon which a decree was issued that all the Bourbons who were not confined in the Temple, or condemned by law, should be exiled from the territories of France. No steps, however, were taken to enforce the decree; the Princess remained undisturbed on her bed of sickness. But on the 17th of September the Jacobins extorted from the Convention their terrible law against suspected persons. In conformity with this law, orders were given on the 1st of October for the immediate removal of the Princess to Paris. Such a resolution produced the most painful impressions at Vernon, for the Duchess of Orleans was universally venerated and beloved. In fact, a remembrance of the benefits her father had conferred on the locality, of her own benevolence, of her domestic misfortunes, and of her long illness naturally procured for her the sympathy of persons of all shades of opinion. Though zealous Republicans, the

municipal authorities at Vernon entreated the Committee of Public Safety to adjourn the execution of their order of the 1st of October, resting their petition on the impossibility of removing the Princess to Paris in the then feeble state of her health. A similar request was made some days after in a petition signed by the inhabitants of Vernon, and of some of the neighbouring communes. These exertions suspended the storm for about a month, but on the 8th of November a new decree rejected both petitions. A deputation from the municipality then proceeded to Paris, and obtained an audience from the Committee of Public Safety. The deputation represented to the members of the committee that the Duchess of Orleans continued in the same weak state, and that her life would be endangered by her removal to Paris. They added that as she had been placed by a special decree under the charge of the municipality of Vernon, she could not be removed until that decree had been constitutionally repealed. The last consideration seemed so important to the Committee, that the matter was referred to the consideration of the National Convention. On the 13th of November, 1793, this assembly voted that the Princess should at once be removed to Paris and placed at the disposal of the Committee of Public Safety, in conformity with the law of the 17th of September. Thus, the Princess not having been exiled by the law of the 1st of August, passed from the class of exiles to the class of suspected,—a circumstance which, though it momentarily endangered

her life, ultimately saved the bulk of her property, as we shall soon have occasion to explain.

On the 15th of November two commissioners from the Committee of Public Safety arrived at Vernon, where their presence excited universal consternation. At five o'clock in the morning of the following day, two carriages, escorted by a detachment of cavalry, arrived at the castle of Bizy, all the avenues to which were crowded by the inhabitants of Vernon and its neighbourhood, hastening with torches and lamps to pay their respects to *the good duchess*, the benefactress of their country. After the delay of a few minutes, the poor invalid was brought out in an arm-chair by her sobbing attendants, and placed in the first carriage with her ladies, La Charce and De Chastellux. The commissioners occupied the second carriage. A deep groan burst from the assembled multitude when the signal for departure was given, and even the commissioners were affected by this manifestation of public sympathy.

When the party reached Mantes, where they changed horses, the Princess fainted, and her prostration became so alarming that a physician was hastily summoned. He declared that it would be fatal to continue the journey; she was therefore removed to a bed in the hotel, under the charge of one of the commissioners, while the other posted to Paris to obtain fresh orders from the Committee. A respite of two days was granted to the invalid, but on the 19th the journey was renewed, and on the evening of that day she

was committed a close prisoner to the Luxembourg.

The Luxembourg was no longer the sumptuous palace it had been in the days of Marie de Medicis and the daughters of the Regent; it had been converted into a prison for the detention of suspected persons. A single chamber, wretchedly furnished, became the cell of the Duchess of Orleans, and even this she had to share with a notorious courtesan, confined like herself on suspicion. Her ladies sought the perilous honour of sharing her captivity; but their petition was rejected. Such indeed was the severity of her treatment, that her gaoler and physician were brought to trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal for having presented a report in which they exaggerated her sickness in order to procure some alleviation of her captivity.

When Danton, Chabot, Bazire, Camille Desmoulins, and some other Jacobins were sent to prison by the jealousy of Robespierre, they were confined in the same wing of the Luxembourg as the Duchess of Orleans. Chabot was only separated from her by a thin wainscot, and it was the Princess who first discovered, by overhearing his groans and convulsions, that he had taken a dose of corrosive sublimate to escape the guillotine. Remedies were speedily applied to counteract the poison; Chabot recovered, but it was only to perish by a different death: he was executed three days after.

Among the prisoners was a wretch named Benoit,

who had been a forest-guard in the service of the Duke of Orleans. The Princess obtained permission to see him, listened with compassion to the tale of misery he invented, and gave him liberal relief out of her limited resources. But this Benoit was a spy employed by Fouquier Tinville to listen to and afterwards report the conversations of the unhappy prisoners, and the Duchess was fortunately warned in time. After the downfall of Robespierre, Benoit appeared as a witness against Fouquier Tinville, but denied that he ever had had any communication with him. Fouquier, enraged at this, exclaimed in the court, "Benoit affirms that he never wrote to me: well, I declare that he *has* written to me, and that his letters still exist among the papers of my ministry. I remember perfectly that he spoke to me of lists. He was so well known at the Luxembourg that they were obliged to remove him to the Carmelites; for he boasted that at the Luxembourg he had made a list of two hundred to be guillotined." Then turning to Benoit, Fouquier loaded him with reproaches, adding, "Ha, wretch! you have dipped your fingers in the sauce, and you must therefore taste it."

By order of the court immediate search was made for these letters, and several were found, one of which we shall insert.

"CITIZEN,—It was citizen Dussard, a man in the confidence of the women Lévis, Dulac, and Bullanger, that I heard say, he was greatly fatigued by the meet-

ings they held every night in their rooms, where all the aristocrats assembled, and none others; their silence was most remarkable whenever he entered the apartment. I was hurried and heard no more. I advised him to give information to the gaoler, but you can summon him and he will wish nothing better than to tell the truth. I have obtained further information respecting these meetings; it appears certain that for some time the greater part of the aristocrats of the Luxembourg, especially the brothers Robert, have very often visited the wife of the late Duke of Orleans, and that their visits are repeated several times in the day; though at first she only admitted the families Monchy and Boisgelen: all who are acquainted with her apartments can testify to these facts.

(Signed) "BENOIT."

On the production of these letters, Benoit was included in the process, where at first he only figured as a witness; he was condemned to death with the other accused, sixteen in number, and was guillotined, May 7th, 1795.

The Princess continued to languish in prison, even after the fall of the Jacobins, though she frequently petitioned the new government to allow her to be removed to one of her country-seats. She wrote also on the 6th of August, 1794, to Amar, an influential member of the Committee of Public Safety, supplicating him, in the name of justice and humanity, to interest himself in her fate. Amar succeeded in

obtaining an order that a medical examination should take place. Three physicians reported that the Duchess's state of health was deplorable, that she could not stand or sit erect without enduring the most frightful agonies, and that accordingly, she was compelled to spend the greater part of her time in a recumbent position. This report was confirmed on a second examination, and on the 14th of September, the Princess was transferred to an hospital, or rather an infirmary for sick prisoners, kept by a man named Belhomme, who was allowed by the Republic fifty sous a day for each prisoner.

"The Duchess of Orleans," says her private secretary, "was deprived of the most ordinary necessaries in her new prison, as she had been at the Luxembourg. Without money, without jewels, having been mercilessly despoiled of everything, she had no resource, and could only lament in silence. She was in this frightful condition, when one day a carriage stopped at the gate; an unknown lady alighted, who said she wished to speak to the Princess. She entered the first of the apartments, where she found one of her Highness's waiting-women, to whom she gave a rouleau of gold, stating that she had been charged to deliver this sum to the Princess. It was never discovered whence this money came. The Duchess frequently in her after-life, spoke of the circumstance with great feeling, and always manifested an intense anxiety to discover the donor.

"About the same time, zealous servants found

means to procure for her Royal Highness some articles of furniture, changes of linen, and other matters, which, however apparently trifling, could not at that time be procured without great difficulty. The multiplied attentions of which she was the object, and the alleviations of her imprisonment, contributed to restore her health, and the Princess was soon able to get up and walk about her chamber.

"All the persons who had been attached to her Royal Highness before her imprisonment, hastened to offer her their condolence, and to shew her marks of the most sincere affection and respect. This good Princess, in the tenderness of her heart, forgot all her own sufferings, and thought only of those of her attendants. '*I regret the sequestration of my property,*' *she used to say,* '*only because it prevents me from affording you some indulgences. The wretches have deprived me almost of everything, but they have not taken away my father!*' alluding to a ring she wore on the little finger of her left hand, which contained a portrait in enamel of the Duc de Penthièvre."

After the death of the unfortunate Dauphin, June 12th, 1795, the National Convention abated its severity to the members of the Bourbon family detained in France. On the 30th of June, it was resolved, that if the Austrians would release the five representatives seized by Dumouriez, and two French envoys who had been attacked in Switzerland, the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of the late King,

and the other Bourbons imprisoned in France, should be at liberty to quit the territories of the Republic.

A special decree relating to the Duchess of Orleans was issued on the 16th of September. It stated:—

"The united Committees of Public Safety and General Surety, on the report made by a member of the situation of Louisa-Maria-Adelaide-Bourbon-Penthièvre, widow of Orleans:

"Considering that Louisa-Maria-Adelaide-Penthièvre has been deprived of her liberty, and the enjoyment of her property, simply as a measure of general safety, and in consequence of revolutionary circumstances which provoked her detention; that no accusation has ever been preferred against her principles, her sentiments, or her conduct, which have always been conformable with the duties that belong to a Frenchwoman obedient to the laws of her country:

"Considering that the term which the Revolution has reached, ought so much the more to dispose the Government to all acts of justice which can be reconciled with safety, public tranquillity, and the maintenance of Republican principles, as already the French nation in its several assemblies has enthusiastically accepted the Constitution designed to insure its happiness;

"Considering that this tranquillity, far from being endangered by the declaration of the full liberty of a woman, becomes more interesting by her long sufferings and the decline of her health, would rather be consolidated by such an application of principles:

"Considering, finally, that the decree of the 12th of Messidor last (June 30th) has pointed out the approaching period when the members of the Bourbon family remaining in France, exempt from reproach, shall enjoy all the rights of citizens; and that the conclusion of the negotiations relative to the exchange of the daughter of the last King of the French, gives reason to suppose that no political interest can be injured by the act of justice which Louisa-Maria-Adelaide-Penthièvre solicits:

"It is resolved for the present:—

"That Louisa-Maria-Adelaide-Bourbon-Penthièvre, widow of Orleans, shall enjoy from this moment her full and entire liberty, with power to reside in her house at Armanvilliers, or elsewhere, as she may find it convenient."

Notwithstanding her arrest at Bizy, the Duchess of Orleans was allowed to retain the possession and enjoyment of her fortune until the 17th of September, 1793, when the Convention subjected all sentenced to deportation, including the Bourbons, to the same penalties as emigrants; viz., civil death and confiscation. The decree that placed her on the 14th of November, 1793, in the class of suspected persons, though it endangered her life, preserved her property, which, instead of being confiscated, was placed under sequestration. Much, however of her movable property, and even some of her estates, had been sold in the interval. Of all her father's splendid furniture she only recovered an old cane, and the scabbard of

his sword; but these relics were more valuable in her eyes than jewels or plate. It was not until the 28th of June, 1797, that the sequestration was removed; but it was revived by the Directory in the following September, and at the same time the decree ordaining the expulsion of all the Bourbons from the territories of the Republic was renewed. The Duchess was compelled immediately to set out for Spain. On crossing the frontier, she addressed to the French Government a strong protest against the injustice with which she had been treated, and claimed the restoration of her domains. Although this demand was supported by all the influence of the Court of Madrid, it received no attention from the Directory.

After residing about two months at Figuières, the Duchess removed to Barcelona, where she found the Prince of Conti, and her sister-in-law, the Duchesse de Bourbon, mother of the unfortunate Duc d'Enghien. The three exiles continued to enjoy each other's company until the spring of 1801, when the Duchess returned to Figuières that she might be near the frontiers of France. It is stated, that during her residence in this little town, she went almost daily to the top of a hill from which the French frontiers were visible, and that, kneeling down there, she prayed earnestly for the happiness of her native land, and of her dear children, from whom she had so long been separated. On the 29th of March, 1802, the Duchess had the happiness of embracing her

daughter, whom she had not seen for ten years. They remained together at Figuières until the commencement of civil war in Spain compelled them again to separate, when the Princess went to join her brother, the Duke of Orleans, at Malta; while the Duchess, after many wanderings and adventures in the south of Spain, at last sought shelter in the island of Minorca. She landed at Port Mahon on the 1st of January, 1809, and met there her son, the Duke of Orleans, and her daughter the Princess Adelaide, who had arrived in the island a few days before.

The Duchess passed the rest of her exile in Port Mahon, a suite of apartments having been assigned to her use in the Governor's palace. As Minorca was the great depôt of French prisoners, during the war in Spain, the Duchess had many opportunities of relieving the wants and alleviating the sufferings of her countrymen, by all of whom she was revered and beloved. Long after her return to France, she was accustomed to receive the grateful homage of those to whom she had shewn kindness in Minorca.

When the overthrow of Napoleon opened France to the exiled Bourbons, the Duchess of Orleans exhibited the most passionate eagerness to revisit her native land. On the 29th of June, 1814, she quitted Minorca in a ship of the line, and on the 8th of July disembarked at Marseilles. The citizens received her with all the honours due to her rank and virtues; but the military governor would not permit her to see the prison in which her husband and children had been

confined. From Marseilles she proceeded to Vichy, on a visit to the Duchess of Angoulême, daughter of the unfortunate Louis XVI., by whom she was received with sisterly affection. On the 6th of August, she reached Paris and proceeded to the Palais Royal, where apartments had been hastily prepared for her reception. Twenty-one years and some months had elapsed since the Palais Royal had been occupied by any of the family of its proprietors. Louis XVIII. received the Duchess at the Tuilleries with great cordiality. He made no allusion to her unfortunate husband, but dwelt strongly on the memory of her father, the Duc de Penthièvre. All her unsold property was restored to the Duchess: she made a careful estimate of its amount, and resolved to devote the tenth part of her income to the relief of the poor.

In September, the Duke of Orleans arrived with his family from Palermo, and all the surviving members of the House of Orleans were once more happily united. The autumn and winter passed in a pleasing tranquillity, to which they had all long been strangers; but their happiness was soon disturbed by a sad accident which happened to the Duchess. On the evening of the 20th of January, 1815, she visited her friend, Madame de Duras, and remained to a late hour. At the close of the visit, Madame de Duras and the other ladies accompanied her to the top of the stairs. Engaged in conversation, the Duchess did not perceive that some water spilled on the top of the stairs had been congealed into ice: she stepped on the treacherous footing,

slipped, and fell down the entire flight. She was taken up, carried to a neighbouring apartment, and placed on a couch : the surgeons, on examination, found that one of her legs was broken. Some days elapsed before she could be removed to her apartments in the Palais Royal, and she was still unable to quit her bed, when Napoleon's return from Elba once more sent the Bourbon family into temporary exile. The Emperor ordered that every proper mark of respect should be paid to the Duchess, and, during "the hundred days," she was not subjected to any annoyance.

After the Restoration, the Duchess abstained from visiting the Court, except on days of high ceremony, devoting her attention chiefly to the charitable institutions she had founded on her several estates, and to collecting the scattered relics of her ancestry into the vaults of the Mortuary Chapel she had erected at Dreux. Towards the close of her life, she resided chiefly at her Castle of Ivry, where she lived in complete retirement, spending the most of her time in the study of books of devotion.

On the 16th of September, 1820, she wished to consult some book in her library, which was on a shelf beyond her reach. She called one of the footmen, who went up the ladder to procure the volume ; but, through awkwardness, he threw down all the books in one compartment over the chair where the Duchess was sitting. The sharp corner of one of the books, which happened to be newly bound, inflicted a severe contusion of the breast, which soon turned into a cancer, and the

physicians declared that they had no hope of devising a remedy. Under these circumstances she made her will, and it deserves to be recorded that she bequeathed an annual pension of a thousand francs to the servant by whose awkwardness she had been injured, declaring that she wished to secure him from the chances of being ruined by an accident, which was probably unavoidable. She survived to the 23rd of June, on which day she died, almost in the presence of her two surviving children, Louis-Philippe and Madame Adelaide. She was buried in the chapel where it had been her wish that the ashes of all the descendants of the Count de Toulouse should be collected.

The Dowager-Duchess of Orleans was passionately attached to the memory of the unfortunate Queen, Marie Antoinette. She expressed joy on her death-bed, when she learned that one of the officiating clergymen was the person who, so many years before, had administered the last consolations of religion to the persecuted Queen. Though the Duchess survived her father about thirty years, it is remarkable that she never ceased to lament his loss: his name was more frequently in her mouth than that of her children when she lay in the agonies of death.

The defence of her husband, Philip Egalité, which the Duchess dictated to her secretary, after the appearance of Montjoye's malignant libel on the unhappy Duke's memory, leaves a more pleasing impression on the mind than might have been expected from the subject. She does not disguise that she deemed herself

ill-used, and that she disapproved of the greater part of her husband's course, both in private and in public; but she insists strongly on the better parts of his character, and seems to have believed that she was, herself, not altogether blameless, in allowing her legitimate influence to be usurped by another.

We must now turn to the history of the two sons whom Philippe Egalité left behind in the prison of Marseilles, when he was removed to take his trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris. The Duc de Montpensier and the Count de Beaujolais were kept for several days in ignorance of their unhappy father's fate. Newspapers were strictly interdicted by their guards, and none of the attendants of the prison would reply to their repeated questions. One evening a turnkey informed them, that they would be allowed to receive a visit from their aunt on the following morning. This announcement did not excite their alarm. "My aunt," said Montpensier, "always takes a gloomy view of every thing; she has always believed that my father was exposed to great danger: doubtless she is coming to prepare us for some bad news which she anticipates, but which she cannot yet have received." At noon on the following day, the Duchess was admitted to the cell of her nephews, and after having contemplated them for some time, in silent sorrow, she said, "I hope you are prepared to receive the sad intelligence which it is my painful mission to announce to you." "No, dear aunt," replied the Princes, "we are prepared for nothing, because we know nothing."

"It is impossible," she said, "that you should not have some suspicion of the terrible misfortune which religion alone can enable you to support courageously; it is time to inform you of what has happened. In the first place, read this letter, which your mother has written, and which has been given to me for you." The letter contained merely these words:—"Live, unfortunate children, for the sake of your unfortunate mother!"

Montpensier could not yet comprehend what had occurred. He turned to the Duchess, exclaiming, "Aunt, explain, for mercy's sake; has any accident happened to my father?" The Duchess replied, "You no longer have a father; he has been condemned and executed."

The grief of the Princes was extreme; it transported Montpensier beyond all bounds, and he would speedily have followed his father to the scaffold had his imprudent exclamations been reported to the municipal authorities. In general, their guards treated them with great leniency, and made no visits of inspection at night. But they sometimes had to endure much brutal violence from exalted Jacobins, who were anxious to shew that they possessed authority over princes.

One of these knocked at the door of the cell one night after the young men had retired to rest. Roused by the noise, Montpensier asked, "Who is there?" and was answered, "Night-rounds." "Citizen!" said the Prince, "we are in bed, and we are usually allowed to

enjoy our repose undisturbed." "Open the door; I must come in." "We will open it for you to-morrow, but at present we are both in bed; pray let us sleep." "If you do not, I will break open the door." "Do so, if you please; but we certainly will not open it now."

On the next day, while the Princes were at breakfast, this insolent Jacobin rushed into their cell with his drawn sabre in his hand, and, gesticulating with great fury, exclaimed, "I will teach you what it is to resist an officer of the Republic!" A sergeant who followed him, held him back, saying, "Good officer, spare these unfortunate young men; it would be an act of cruelty to attack them in their present state." "No!" he cried, "they are abominable aristocrats; there is no fate too bad for them." "Well, wretch," said the Princes, "exercise your valour on two defenceless prisoners; neither your menaces nor your sword intimidate us in the least." "Be easy on that score," he answered, "the guillotine will spare me the trouble of treating you as you deserve. Remember what has been the fate of your relatives; it will also be yours. In the meantime the report which I shall make to the sovereign people will probably hasten your execution?" Fortunately, the Governor arrived: he rebuked the brutal officer, and made such a representation of his conduct to the municipal authorities that he was not again permitted to appear in the prison.

In March 1794, the Princes learned that a representative of the people was about to be sent to

Marseilles, to correct, as was said, any acts of injustice committed by his predecessors. This was Maignet, whose atrocious cruelties in the south of France, have affixed a stigma of eternal infamy on his name. The Princes, unacquainted with his character, and hoping that any change must lead to a relaxation of their rigorous confinement, addressed a petition to him stating that "The decree which deprived them of their liberty merely enjoined that they should be confined *in the forts and castles of Marseilles*, but not that they should be buried in such a dungeon as that to which they had been confined for more than nine months; that they claimed the same liberal interpretation of the decree which had been applied to the cases of the Prince of Conti and the Duchess of Bourbon, and some remission of the severity practised towards themselves."

Maignet returned no answer to this petition, but he ordered that fresh restraints should be imposed on the Duchess of Bourbon, and that the Prince of Conti should be sent to the same cell as his cousins.

Conti was an old and eccentric prince, who never could be brought to understand the effects of the Revolution, and was ever seeking the homage due to his former rank. His peculiarities were most annoying to the two young Princes, though his oddities sometimes afforded them much amusement. As they found themselves inconveniently crowded, they applied to the municipal authorities to be transferred to better apartments, declaring that their cells smoked, and were, at

the same time, so damp that they could not dispense with a fire. Commissioners were appointed to examine the cells, and the Princes prepared for their arrival by making a smoke which threatened the inmates of the room with instant suffocation. The commissioners were accompanied by the commandant of the place, an old officer named Vouland, who, though a Jacobin, had preserved his old military habits of politeness, and was a very different person from the citizen commissioners, whose great ambition generally was to make the most vexatious and offensive display of their power. "Ho, ho!" said they as they entered, "do you find yourselves very badly off in this place?" "Citizens, judge for yourselves," replied the Prince de Conti; "ought this horrible den to be the abode of an unfortunate old man, against whom there is no matter of accusation?" "There is no question about accusation," said one. "The National Convention has ordered your detention, Conti, and that of your family as a measure of general safety; it must have had its own reasons for such a course, and we cannot interfere. With respect to this place, it is not very fine, but it is secure; and there are other persons infinitely worse off, I can assure you." "Citizens," said the Prince, "all I can say is, that if you condemn me to remain here you condemn me to death, for I feel that my health will not long resist the effects of so horrible a dwelling." "Oh," cried one of the commissioners, "can this old grumbler attach so much importance to living a few days longer? And if he suffers, ought he not rather to rejoice in the pro-

spect of seeing a speedy termination to his woes?' This horrible speech was not overheard by the old Prince, who was weeping and lamenting. "But," exclaimed another commissioner, "here are two young men who have lived in this abode ten months." "Yes," said the Duc de Montpensier, "but under such painful circumstances that I would petition for death rather than be condemned to pass the same space of time here over again. We have never ceased to protest against the injustice and cruelty of the treatment to which we have been subjected; we imagine that our complaints have not reached you, and we now rejoice at being able to address you in person, hoping that you will at last deliver us from the frightful abode in which we have so long languished." One of the commissioners, of more humanity than the rest, said, "We will see if that can be done. In honest truth there is a great deal of smoke here; but surely you could remedy that yourselves by abstaining from making a fire." "Oh, but citizen," said the Prince de Conti, "consider the humidity of this vault and of these walls, and the polluted atmosphere we breathe here!" The commissioners whispered for some time together, and thus announced their decision:—"If we can find any other locality as secure as this, and where you would be more comfortably lodged, we will have you removed to it. Good day, citizens."

A large suite of apartments was, in fact, prepared, to which the Princes were removed; but they could not obtain even the privilege of walking in a walled garden

under the eye of a sentinel, without paying large bribes, which they could ill afford, to the Governor's secretary.

After the overthrow of Robespierre, the severity of the confinement of the State-prisoners was greatly relaxed: the Prince de Conti and the Duchess of Bourbon were allowed to remove to any town they pleased, but were obliged to keep within its precincts. The two Orleans Princes were still confined to the fort, but were permitted to walk freely in its precincts. In no part of France was there a more violent reaction against the crimes of the Jacobins, than in Marseilles and the adjacent districts. Clubs were formed by the relatives of those who had fallen under the decrees of the Revolutionary tribunal, to take vengeance for their loss upon the partisans of Robespierre. Numbers of Jacobins were confined in the same fortress as the Princes, and on the evening of June 6th, 1795, they witnessed a scene of massacre, perpetrated by those who called themselves the "Republican friends of Law and Order," which could hardly have been exceeded in sanguinary violence by the Jacobins themselves. Grievous wrongs were grievously avenged.

"On that evening," says the Duc de Montpensier, "about five o'clock, I was sitting with Beaujolais, who was reading, while I was drawing. Suddenly we heard cries of '*To arms!* to arms! Raise *the drawbridge.*' Running to the window, which opened on the court, we saw the soldiers of the guard hastening to their

posts, taking up their arms, and hurrying to the drawbridge. In a few minutes these soldiers returned, followed by a crowd of people armed with sabres and pistols; without uniforms, and, for the most part, having their sleeves tucked up above their elbows. In the midst of them was an officer whom they carried, and who appeared to be wounded. They sang at the top of their voices a stave from the song called '*The Awakening of the People*,' of which the concluding lines were

> "'Guiltless victims sleep in peace,
> In your tombs let sorrow cease,
> For the day of vengeance now
> Bids your cruel murderers bow.'

It was impossible to entertain the least doubt respecting the intentions of these infuriated rioters, or on the ease with which they could execute them, after having forced an entrance into the fort, and when the soldiers appeared to offer them no resistance. It was certain that we did not belong to the party against whom their vengeance was directed, but it was not so certain, that, drunk as they appeared to be, and as in fact they were, they would not make some mistake, of which we might be the victims. When these reflections suddenly occurred to us, we hastened to barricade our doors. Lumber, beds, faggots, tables, and chairs, were in an instant piled against the door; and in case these ramparts had failed us, we resolved to effect our escape through the windows which opened on the sea. Scarcely had we completed our barricades,

when a loud knocking was heard at our door. We made no reply. The persons outside redoubled their knocks, crying at the same time, '*Open, whoever you are: we do not mean you any harm; we are bringing the adjutant of the commandant of the fort, who is dying, for we cannot take him anywhere else, as all the doors are shut.*' We then replied that if we could offer any help to the adjutant, we should do so most readily; but we prayed them to reflect that we were not imprisoned on account of Jacobinism, and that, in fact, we had been arrested for directly the contrary opinions. They replied that they knew that very well, recommending us to open the door quickly, as there was no time to lose. Upon this assurance, we resolved to give them admission. Ten or twelve young men then entered, respectably dressed, but having their sleeves tucked up to their elbows, and sabres in their hands. They brought in the adjutant and placed him on my bed: then addressing us, they asked '*Are not you the Messieurs d'Orleans?*' Upon our replying in the affirmative, they said that so far from having any design upon our lives, they would defend us to the last extremity if occasion required; that the act of justice which they were about to execute would contribute to our safety as well as to their own, and that of all honest people. They then asked us for some brandy, of which assuredly, they did not appear to stand in need. We had none, but they found a bottle of aniseed, which they poured out in soup-plates; after which they

retired, recommending us to take care of the adjutant; and whether for the sake of guarding him, or preventing their comrades from making any fatal mistake with respect to us, they left one of their number as a sentinel at our door.

"The adjutant was as pale as death, and we had great difficulty in restoring him to his senses; but he was not wounded; they had succeeded in disarming him without inflicting the slightest scratch; and the fright which this operation caused joined to all the consequences likely to result from it, had been the sole cause of his fainting. When he recovered, he wished to go out, to make, as he said, some effort to prevent the horrible scenes which were about to be enacted. But he found two sentinels who had been posted at the door by the rioters, and who refused to let him pass. At this moment we heard the door of one of the prisons in the second court violently forced open, and soon after horrible cries, groans, shrieks, and demoniac shouts of joy. The blood froze in our veins and we preserved the most profound silence. The butchery in this part of the prison lasted about twenty minutes, after which we heard the horrible troop return to the first court, on which our windows opened. By a kind of mechanical impulse, impossible to describe, we rushed to the windows and saw them endeavouring to force open the prison, No. 1, exactly in front of us, and in which there were about twenty prisoners. They had already slaughtered about five-and-twenty persons in the other prison. Those in

No. 1, whose door, fortunately for them, opened inwards, barricaded themselves so well, that after having toiled unavailingly for a quarter of an hour, the rioters, finding themselves unable to force an entrance, abandoned the task, after having fired some pistol-shots through the bars, and having vowed that they would return so soon as they had settled matters with the rest.

About six o'clock, the commandant of the fort was brought to us by two of these gentlemen, who had only left him the scabbard of his sword, and who shut him up with his adjutant and us. He had presented himself at the drawbridge, which he found raised, and not being able to have it let down, he had scrambled across the ditch; but on reaching the fort, he had been disarmed, and conducted to our apartments. He swore, he stormed, he bit his nails, he reproached the adjutant for the paleness and terror which appeared in his countenance. All this time we heard the cries of victims, the firing of pistols, and the clashing of sabres. Towards seven o'clock, we heard a cannon-shot fired from the fort, and we afterwards knew that this had been discharged by the assassins against the prison, No. 9, the prisoners in which, to the number of thirty, were cut down by grape-shot and burned; for in order that *duty* (to use their own odious expression) should move quicker, they had determined to set fire to the prison after having introduced a large quantity of straw through the gratings. It was near nine o'clock, and night had closed in, when we heard some one exclaim in the first

court, 'Here are the representatives of the people! we must lower the drawbridge, for they threaten to treat us as rebels if we delay.' 'I scorn the representatives,' cried another, 'and I will blow the brains out of the first man who obeys them:—come, my friends, let us proceed with our duty, we shall soon have finished.' As they moved off, the soldiers lowered the drawbridge, and the representatives entered in the midst of torches, and followed by a vast number of grenadiers and dismounted hussars. 'Wretches!' they cried as they entered, 'put an end to your horrible carnage!—In the name of the law, cease to indulge in your atrocious acts of revenge!' Several replied 'If the law had executed justice on these scoundrels, we should not have been reduced to the necessity of executing it ourselves. Now the wine is drawn, and we must drink it.' And the massacre still continued. 'Grenadiers,' cried the representatives, 'hasten to arrest these violators of the law, and summon the commandant of the fort to our presence. Where is he?' They told him that he was confined in our apartments, to which they caused themselves to be conducted. These representatives were *Isnard* and *Cadray*. On entering our chamber, they demanded that the commandant should give an account of his conduct, and they appeared convinced of the impossibility of his offering any effective opposition to this horrible scene; then, sitting down on our beds, they asked for something to drink. Wine was brought, which Isnard rejected, exclaiming in a theatrical tone,

'*It is blood!*' Aniseed was then offered him, and he swallowed it immediately. A moment after, as our room became crowded with people, the representatives retired into another apartment to deliberate, and there they shut themselves in with the commandant. They returned in a few minutes. Five or six of the murderers arrived at the same time, covered with blood. 'Representatives,' said they, 'allow us to finish our duty; it will be soon completed, and you will be all the better for it,' 'Wretches!' replied Isnard, 'you make us shudder!' 'We have only avenged the murders of our fathers, our brethren, and our friends, and you yourselves were our instigators.' 'Arrest those scoundrels!' cried the representatives. Fourteen of them were in fact arrested, but they were liberated after two days' confinement.

"Thus terminated this terrible evening, the result of which was the death of eighty unfortunate persons, several of whom were innocent; and amongst them was a shoemaker who had been imprisoned for crying *Long live the King!* None of the great criminals suffered: the prison No. 1 contained several of them, and could not be forced. The tower was full of them, and into this the rioters could not penetrate. Next day the fort was strewed with the dead and dying, like a field of battle. Great pools of blood were in the passages; and that nothing should be wanting to the horror of the scene, the air was poisoned by the smoke arising from the prison which had been burned. It was only then

we discovered with horror under our bed, and some of our chairs, three or four daggers stained with blood to the hilt; it is probable that they had been thrown away by some of the assassins who wished to disembarrass themselves of these evidences of guilt, after having been brought into our chamber with the crowd that followed the representatives.

"Several victims of this massacre survived two or three days, and afterwards expired in tortures, rendered the more horrible because no care was taken to supply medical aid or assistance. While traversing the fort on the second day after this terrible scene, I heard myself called by a plaintive and suppliant voice, which issued from a recess in the prison; I approached and recognised a man who had been a municipal officer, and who, as such, had guarded me more than once. He was deemed a furious Jacobin; but personally I had no reason to complain of him: besides, he was a sufferer, and entitled to compassion. 'Citizen,' said he to me, 'I am dying. I was shut up in prison No. 6 when they set it on fire, and I know not how I survived all those wretches who perished there. Would to God that I had fallen like them! I should not then have had to suffer the anguish in which I am writhing; for pity's sake induce them to give me some relief, or to put an end to me, for nothing can equal the tortures I endure.' I promised to use my best efforts to obtain him assistance, and immediately hastened to the commandant of the fort, to represent to him how

barbarous it was to leave those unfortunate wretches in such a state, without granting them the least assistance. 'I have already asked for a surgeon,' he replied; 'it is not my fault if he has not come; and besides, those scoundrels have caused the death of so many honest people that they do not deserve compassion.' 'I do not love them more than you do,' I replied; 'but in addition to the probability of there being several innocent persons among them, leaving them to perish in such agony would be a cruelty as atrocious as any, the most sanguinary of them ever perpetrated.' 'I will send again,' said he, 'to procure a surgeon, and that is all I can or will do; for if I went to succour them myself, in all probability they would be relieved from their sufferings by quite a different process.' The surgeon arrived; but too late, and the unfortunate man whose cause I had pleaded, died, as well as several others."

The Prince relates another incident connected with this terrible instance of revolutionary reaction, which will be read with some interest. As before, we shall extract the narrative in his own words.

"An Englishman whom a privateer had taken on board a merchant-vessel, of which he was the supercargo, had been brought to the fort as a prisoner of war, two days before the massacre. The poor man was, as may easily be imagined, seized with terror at the sight of this unexpected scene; and he was the more so because, knowing nothing of the

cause or of the actors, he was convinced that the murderers were Jacobins, who would not fail to put an end to him as an Englishman. He could not speak a word of French, or understand it when spoken. As we were the only persons in the fort who spoke English, recourse was had to us to communicate with him. He was delighted to find any one to whom he could speak. He assured us that his detention had been contrary to every principle of justice, and asked our intercession to help him in obtaining his liberty. I made him state his complaint in writing, and prepared several petitions for him; but though it was repeatedly promised that attention should be paid to his request, yet time rolled on and the poor fellow remained in the fort, the victim of impatience and *ennui*. He complained bitterly that, independent of the unpleasantness of his situation, his pecuniary affairs suffered fatally from his absence. As he had money with a banker at Marseilles, we procured for him, under a feigned name, a passage on board a Danish vessel, which was to set sail in a few days. An old prisoner, named Joliot, a poor devil, well-intentioned and very determined, whom we often employed to execute commissions for us, and who had obtained his liberty, undertook to carry the Englishman's baggage on board, and to provide a rope which he would fasten to the rampart, and down which the captive could easily slide to the sea, where he would find a boat to take him on board the Danish vessel. Everything

was executed as it had been contrived. The evening before the departure of the vessel, we warned the Englishman to hold himself in readiness for that night, and to rely implicitly on the services of our man, who, in fact, executed his commission perfectly. The Englishman got on board, departed, and we heard no more of him."

It may appear surprising that the Princes who found it so easy to deliver a fellow-prisoner, themselves made no effort to escape; but the recent relaxation of their captivity had greatly diminished its irksomeness, and the leniency shewn to the Prince of Conti and the Duchess of Bourbon had inspired them with hopes of a speedy deliverance. Besides, they had received from their mother the most positive assurances that they would be soon set at liberty, and under those circumstances they thought that flight might baffle the intentions and designs of a parent for whom they deservedly entertained sentiments of the greatest tenderness and respect.

Time, however, passed on and the Princes remained prisoners: public affairs, too, seemed to take a turn unfavourable to their interests. The triumph of the Convention over the sections of Paris, on the 4th of October, favoured the return of the Jacobins to power: Fréron, who was sent to Marseilles as an agent of the Government, openly belonged to that party, and turned out of office all who were suspected of anti-Jacobin principles. Betemps, the commandant of the fort, who had shewn every kindness in his power to

the Princes, was obliged to fly in order to avoid arrest, and his place was given to Grippe, a furious Jacobin, who had recently been a corporal in the army, and was accustomed to get drunk every day. Under these circumstances, the Princes resolved to escape, if possible; and we must permit the Duc de Montpensier to tell, in his own simple language, the interesting narrative of their fruitless attempt.

"Our first step was to secure a passage on board some Italian ship that was about to sail speedily. A Tuscan captain agreed, for a reasonable sum, to take charge of two young persons and their domestics, provided they were furnished with passports; but, if not, he insisted on a sum far beyond our means. This difficulty at first appeared frightful to us; but we soon learned that a clerk in the service of the municipality used to sell blank passports for two or three louis, and that he gained a livelihood by this traffic. We eagerly availed ourselves of our information, and four louis procured each of us a passport, which we filled up according to our fancy, taking care to insert fictitious names, and to indicate ages a little different from our own, but all was summed up by a tolerably exact description of our persons. Possessing this treasure, we concluded our bargain with the Tuscan captain, who was to sail for Leghorn in the course of three or four days. All this affair was conducted by the person who had managed the escape of Betemps (the old commandant of the fort), and who, fearing the return of Jacobinism, was resolved to

escape in the same vessel with us. Although we were very nearly sure of escaping by the drawbridge, taking the precaution to wait for its descent, and wrapping ourselves closely in our cloaks, still we thought that, in the unfortunate case of one of us being recognised, it would be necessary to provide ourselves with a cord, in order to escape through the window, whilst the other, after waiting a certain fixed time, should come in a boat to the foot of the tower, which is washed by the sea, to carry off his comrade. It will subsequently be seen how necessary this precaution was, and how unfortunate it turned out in cruelly frustrating all the measures and arrangements we had so carefully devised.

"The day for the departure of the vessel was fixed. We prepared to decamp the evening before, just at nightfall. We had previously sent out by our servant Louis, in small and unsuspicious packages, and at several times, the few effects we wished to carry with us, and we intended to pass the night with a relative of the person who had managed the whole affair, and afterwards to embark together and set sail at sun-rise. After having dined slenderly enough,—for our anxiety left us but little appetite,—we waited with impatience until darkness should allow us to commence the execution of our great project.

"We had then reached the 18th of November, and night closed in upon us about half-past five; accordingly, our departure was fixed for a quarter-past five. We agreed that we should not both go out together,

in order to excite less cause for suspicion, and we decided that Beaujolais should first set out with Louis, and that after some minutes I should follow quite alone, and rejoin him at the port, where he was to wait for me, walking slowly. In case I should not have rejoined Beaujolais in the space of ten minutes, it was agreed that he should take it for granted that I had not been able to cross the drawbridge, and that he was to come in a boat to seek me at the foot of the tower. Before setting out, Louis went to examine the neighbourhood of the drawbridge, to assure himself that neither the commandant, nor any one likely to recognise us, was in the way; and, when he brought us back a favourable report, I embraced Beaujolais with the most lively agitation. I found it a great difficulty to separate from him so as to allow him to depart, though I had the hope of rejoining him in a few minutes. He set out with the faithful Louis. The five minutes which elapsed after his departure appeared to me horribly long; after their lapse, hearing nothing, I folded myself in my cloak, pulled my hat over my eyes, and double-locked the door of our chamber, hoping never to enter it again. I passed before five sentinels, none of whom stopped me; I crossed the fatal bridge, and believing myself at perfect liberty, I offered to heaven the most sincere thanks for my safety. But *I reckoned without my host*, a proverb unfortunately too applicable to my situation. Scarcely had I advanced a few steps when I met this accursed *host*,—that is to say, the

commandant of the fort, who was just returning to his quarters. I recognised him at once by the white cloak he wore; but, putting a good face on the matter, I hoped he would not take any notice of me.

"Vain hope! He accosted me, and asked whither I was going. 'Citizen,' said I, 'what concern can that be of yours? I do not know you.'—'I am the commandant of the fort, and I have seen you just come out of it.'—'That is true enough; I have dined with one of my friends who belongs to the artillery, and I would have told you so at once, if I had recognised you.'—'No, you are a prisoner, and you must at once march back, for I am responsible for you.'—'You are greatly mistaken, I assure you; and you mistake me for some other person.'—'Not at all—you are the elder of the sons of Orleans; and I repeat, that if you do not instantly march back, I will call out the guard to take you by force.'—'Such violence would be useless, for I have no wish to make any resistance; I was going to the theatre, as I have done on several nights without your knowledge. Since I happen to have met you, I suppose I shall be deprived of that pleasure, and there is an end of the matter.'—'Deprived of it you will be, most assuredly,—I shall take good care of that; for I shall order you to be confined to your apartments, and place a sentinel at your door.' As he was speaking, I sadly marched back through the fort, escorted by a corporal and a musketeer: I had death in my heart. After having believed myself sure of my liberty, I saw

obstacles rising before me, all the greater as they were doubtless about to take new precautions, and to adopt measures of vigilance which it would be almost hopeless to attempt to elude. There was not a minute to lose; and, since they had the imprudence to send me back to my apartment which opened on the sea, it seemed the best course to take advantage of their error and jump from the window as quick as possible. I found our servant-maid Frances at the door of our chamber; she was in the secret, and was confounded at seeing my return. Before she had time to express her surprise, I made her come in with me, and the sentinel not having shut our door, I took the key inside and double-locked it. 'My dear Frances,' said I, 'the cursed commandant met and recognised me; he was coming in just as I was going out. He threatens to shut me up again as a close prisoner; and since, luckily, I have got into my room, you must, without losing a moment, help me to fasten the rope to the window, for if we delay it is very improbable that I shall be able to effect my escape.'—'Oh, my God!' she exclaimed, 'you will break your neck, and I shall be guillotined!' I told her that if she had nothing but tears and cries to offer me, it would be better for her to go away, and allow me to extricate myself without her aid, for my part was taken. The poor woman then protested that she did not wish to abandon me, that her only disquietude was for me, and that, since I had determined to escape through the window, she would not stir

until she had seen me at the foot of the wall. Accordingly, after having fastened the cord round a projection which was attached to the window, I recommended Frances to take care that it did not get loose; and having shewn her how deeply I felt her faithful attachment, I climbed through the window and trusted myself to the disastrous cord. Scarcely had I descended half the height, that is to say about thirty feet, when the cord broke and I fell senseless, though before I lost consciousness I had time to hear Frances exclaim, 'Oh, mother of God, he is killed!—the poor child!' In fact, I lay as one dead nearly a quarter of an hour. When I opened my eyes, I was struck by the light of the moon, and I found myself up to my middle in the sea. I suffered much in my loins and in my right foot, which I believed only to have been bruised, thanks to the sand on which I had fallen. But after having waited some time for the boat which Beaujolais was to have brought me, I determined to swim across the harbour, and afterwards to proceed as well as I could to the place of rendezvous, or any other house where I could remain in safety.

"It was then I discovered, by the excessive pain I suffered, that my leg was broken; my strength completely failed me; it was with the greatest difficulty that I dragged myself five or six fathoms to grasp the chain of the harbour in order to rest on it. The port was not yet closed, and I flattered myself that before it would be shut, some boat might pass which could be

bribed to carry me off. I had about thirty louis in gold, which was the half of our possessions, and Beaujolais had the other half. I hoped that a part of this sum, or the whole if necessary, would bribe some passing boatman to take me off. But no such good fortune presented itself during the two mortal hours that I remained on the chain. Seven boats passed; I addressed supplications to each in vain. 'Who are you?' they cried, 'and what are you doing there?' 'I am dying. If you will have the goodness to take me on board your boat you will not regret your trouble, and I will pay you handsomely.' 'Oh!' said they, 'we have not time.' Then they added, "It is some malefactor, for what would an honest man be doing in such a place at this hour of the night?' During this time I suffered martyrdom, physically and mentally. The pain of my foot and that of my loins had thrown me into a violent fever, accompanied with shivering fits which made my teeth chatter. I was, besides, up to my waist in water, and this bath of more than two hours, in the month of November, completed the agony of my situation. Every time I heard the approach of a boat, my hope was a little revived; but the atrocious harshness of these sailors plunged me again into the depression of despair. Finally, I began to lose consciousness, when I heard an eighth boat coming up. I collected the little strength I had still remaining to address my prayers to the crew, and this time the answer was less harsh, without being entirely satisfactory. 'We cannot, at present,' they replied,

'for we must first land at our home, but we shall not remain long, but come back for you immediately.' 'O, my friends!' I cried, 'make haste, or you will come too late, for I am dying.' It was difficult for me to articulate these few words, and I sank at once into a fainting fit. I was roused from it; the boat returned in about a quarter of an hour, and the crew raised me up to take me on board. I was so exhausted, and every portion of my frame was in such pain, that the embarkation produced the greatest agony. When I was in the boat, they asked me who I was. I could then scarcely stammer a few words, but still I found means of making them understand that as they were honest people, I had no doubt that their humanity would induce them to take me to the house which I would indicate without troubling me with questions, to which I was not in a condition to make a reply, and that furthermore, I would pay them for their trouble in a manner that would leave them no cause to regret it. The house, which I pointed out to them, was near, and occupied by a barber named Maugin, a perfectly honest man, and in whom I could confide implicitly. One of these men said to me, 'I know who you are; I recognised you at once, for I have often seen you in the fort when I was on duty there; but I will not take any advantage of the circumstance. I am a good Royalist, and I will carry you to the house of Maugin, who is my very good friend.'

"This assurance tranquillised me very much, for I could not foresee what was about to happen. As they

were obliged, in bringing me on shore, to adopt the same precautions that were necessary some moments before to get me on board the boat, this gave time to some idle vagabonds who were strolling about to stop and gratify their curiosity. 'Oh! 'tis a wounded man: whence are they bringing him, and how did he happen to be reduced to such a state?' Several others assembled round them and a crowd was formed in an instant. 'It is a mere nothing,' said my protector, 'we happened to find this man, who, probably, being intoxicated, has been involved in a quarrel with some other person and has got wounded. We are carrying him home.' At this moment, one of the most inquisitive approaching me, and looking closely into my face, shouted out in his barbarous dialect, 'Ho! ho! it is one of the Orleans fellows; I know him very well; he was probably trying to make his escape.' Immediately the guard was turned out, and information sent to the citizen Fréron of the capture which had been made; at the same time he was asked what measures ought to be adopted. During this time, they had carried me temporarily to Maugin's house, with four men to guard my bed and a sentinel at the door. I asked for a surgeon, for I suffered martyrdom, and his assistance was indispensable. They brought me an old man in a wig, who, on looking at my leg, declared that it was too much inflamed for him to do any thing, and he contented himself with ordering some poultices until the next morning. I passed all that night in the most frightful tortures, both of mind and body. After

having believed myself assured of recovering my liberty, of which I had been deprived two years and a half, I found myself fallen back (and, probably, for ever) under the infernal gripe of those whom I knew, from experience, to be of the most atrocious character, and I feared that my fruitless attempt to escape would render them more cruel in future. Besides, I did not know what had become of my brother; I was probably destined never to see him again, and deprived of the consolation of having him for my companion, I was to drag out my existence alone, in some horrible dungeon, until they thought proper to put me to death. Join to these agonizing reflections, and a thousand others, the excessive pain produced by my broken leg, and you will be able to judge of the horrors of my situation.

"In order that nothing should be wanting, M. Fréron determined to subject me to an examination. He did not come himself, but he sent three commissioners to perform the duty. These gentlemen, after having made an inventory of every thing that was in my pockets, and taken possession of my money and my watch (which was afterwards restored to me), commenced thus:—

"'Who are you?' 'You know as well as I do.' 'No matter, you must answer our questions; for it is in the name of the law that we interrogate you.' 'Antoine Philippe d'Orleans.' 'What were you doing at the foot of the wall of Fort St. Jean when you were found there?' 'I had fallen in attempting to

make my escape.' 'Why did you endeavour to escape?' 'To deliver myself from the atrocious tyranny under which I have groaned more than two years and a half, and to recover my liberty, of which no one had a right to deprive me.' 'What has become of your brother?' 'I do not know; I hope that, more fortunate than I have been, he has escaped from your hands, and that you will see him no more.' 'What is this passport which has been found in your pocket, and how have you procured it?' 'That is just what I am firmly resolved not to tell you. I know very well that I am in your power, and that you will not spare me; but I also know that I have nothing more to lose, and I declare to you that, finding myself tormented by the anguish which I suffer, I will make no further reply to your useless and fatiguing questions.'

"They vainly asked me several other questions, and, after some menaces equally useless, they withdrew, saying, 'There is a little delirium in his conduct.' There was not indeed at that time, but soon after their departure I became painfully conscious that my senses were wandering. Poor Maugin, in whose house I was, utterly despaired, but continued to pay me every possible attention. I complained that my leg was like a lump of ice, for the blood no longer circulated; it was in vain that they applied bricks, almost of a red heat. I did not experience the slightest sensation. I then said to Maugin, 'You see plainly enough that all this is useless; deliver me from my

pains; shoot me at once with your pistol. No one will blame you for your conduct, and truly it is the best service you can render me.'

"The poor man burst into tears, and his emotion acting on mine, contributed a little to calm my despair. This cruel night appeared to me an age, when at length the day began to dawn. Maugin went out to search for a good surgeon, whom he brought to me after a little delay. He attended to my leg, which he said had been broken at the *calcaneum*, and he bled me very copiously, which gave me considerable relief. After he had attended to me, Maugin whispered to me that he had met my brother Beaujolais at the harbour, who on learning my unfortunate accident, wished to come at once to see me; but that he had opposed it for fear of exciting suspicion that there had been some concert between us, and that Beaujolais had returned to the fort. A minute afterwards I had a visit from the commandant, Grippe. 'Ho,' said he, with a triumphant and ferocious air, 'so that was your way of going to the theatre. You wanted to have me guillotined; for you know that I was responsible for you; but, thank God, you have not succeeded in escaping, and we will take good care that you shall not have an opportunity of playing us such a trick a second time.'

"'It is absurd,' I replied, 'to say that I wished to have you guillotined, for you know better than I do that you could not be responsible for me, and that my flight would not expose you to the slightest danger.

Besides, if you believe that you have any reason to complain of me, you are amply revenged, for I suffer as much as it is possible for man to endure, and you may therefore without regret dispense with your reproaches.'

"'Listen,' said he; 'your brother is at the fort, and has a great desire to see you. As you are about to be imprisoned separately, and will no longer have an opportunity of communicating with each other, I am disposed previously to afford you the consolation of seeing him for a few moments, if you desire.' 'Oh,' I exclaimed, 'grant me the favour at once!'

"About a quarter of an hour after, Beaujolais rushed in, bathed in tears: 'Oh, Montpensier!' he exclaimed; 'my poor Montpensier! how you must suffer!' I assured him that my physical pain was nothing in comparison to that of my mind, and that his presence did me infinite good, though I had sincerely desired never to see him again. I expressed to him the deepest gratitude for his return. 'Alas!' said he to me, 'I fear we shall not profit by it, for they are about to immure us in separate prisons; but I never could have enjoyed liberty if deprived of your company.' Scarcely had he uttered these words when Grippe forced him away, in spite of his solicitations and mine.

"'Some minutes after one of Fréron's commissioners entered, followed by some soldiers carrying a litter. 'I have orders,' said he, 'to remove the prisoner to the fort; let him be placed on the litter.' 'Citizen,'

cried the surgeon, who happened to be present, 'it is impossible that such a removal should take place without great danger to the patient.' 'I know nothing about that: I must obey orders.' 'Will you have the kindness, at least, to communicate to citizen Fréron the warning I have given you in my medical capacity.' 'State your opinion in writing.' He did so, and the commissioner went away; but he very soon returned, declaring that citizen Fréron confirmed his preceding order, *whatever might be the consequences.* He only granted the prisoner the choice of going to the hospital or to fort St. Jean. I chose the latter in the hope of seeing my brother occasionally. Besides, the fort was less distant than the hospital; and I was very anxious to abridge as much as possible my journey in the litter, through the middle of an inquisitive and insulting population. I could not, however, avoid the mob altogether: in fact, such a crowd assembled to see me pass, that those who carried me, though escorted by about a score of soldiers, had great difficulty in getting through, and could not make way without crushing my leg in a frightful manner. I found Beaujolais in the court-yard of the fort. He ran up to me, and announced that he hoped they would not separate us. I then asked him if we were to be confined in a dungeon. 'No,' said he, 'we are to be shut up in the two small apartments which we occupied when first liberated from the tower.' Thither I was borne followed by Beaujolais, being allowed to enjoy the

great consolation of his company. I passed the night which followed my removal, and which was the second after my accident, in the most horrible agony. Beaujolais had himself applied three times to the commandant to obtain permission to lower the drawbridge in order to send for a surgeon. He was sternly and harshly refused. 'My brother is dying,' said he, at last; 'it is you who will be held responsible for his death, if you do not allow some one to go out and summon a surgeon.' 'I laugh at all responsibility,' replied the commandant, 'let him die and be d—d, if he pleases, that is no business of mine. The bridge must not be lowered under any pretext; and no one must come here importuning me; I must not be plagued in this way.' Beaujolais gave vent to his indignation, but in vain; and I remained until morning a victim to the sharpest pains and in complete delirium. Still, thanks to the care and skilfulness of the surgeon who undertook my cure, I felt great relief in the course of two or three days, and on the tenth day I was quite free from fever. Our good and faithful servant Fanny resumed her service with us immediately after our return to the fort, and she escaped with a few threats which had no results. It was the same with Louis, who, having accompanied Beaujolais to the gates of the fort, did not enter for several hours after, and feigned the greatest astonishment when he was informed by the soldiers of all that had passed. He was examined before the commissioners, closely questioned and

menaced, but he remained firm, and nothing happened to him in consequence. It is rather a ridiculous circumstance, that the only person compromised by this affair was a secretary of the municipality whom we did not know at all, and with whom we never had the slightest connection, but who had signed the blank passports which we had purchased for a few louis. He was arrested and remained three months in prison. He was not liberated until they had discovered the intervention of the clerk by whom the passports had been sold, but on whom they were never able to lay their hands. The friend of Bétemps, who had exerted himself so actively to facilitate our flight, decamped himself in the ship in which we had designed to make our escape, and which set sail at the dawn of day, as had been announced. I never can forget the frightful sensation I experienced, when the same morning, after having passed the night in the most cruel tortures of mind and body, Maugin, in whose house I was, said, as he looked out of the window: 'There is a vessel sailing out!' 'What flag?' said I. 'Tuscan,' he replied. 'It was ours! O my God! But for this accident I should now be at liberty: my poor brother and I would have been giving ourselves up to transports of joy. But instead of that—What a cruel contrast!' I remained forty days in bed, and was not able to use my legs before the expiration of that time. I continued lame for fifteen months after my accident, and the swelling in my leg did not disappear before the end of that period."

So great became the depreciation of assignats in 1796, that paper money of the nominal value of two thousand francs was worth only forty sous. But as the allowance for the support of the prisoners was paid in paper, and was not augmented in any thing like the same proportion as the depreciation of the assignats, they had to endure many privations; and in fact would have been nearly starved but for some small sums which their mother contrived to send them from time to time. They were menaced with an accusation of complicity in the massacre of the Jacobins which we have described in a preceding page, and were one night exposed to considerable danger from a Jacobin mob, which forced its way into the fort, but was fortunately driven out again by the garrison.

When the Jacobin influence again declined the condition of the Princes was much ameliorated. On giving their word of honour not to make any attempt to escape they were allowed the full liberty of the fort, and were permitted to bathe at its base. Soon after, they learned that the Directory had consented to permit their going to the United States of America if their elder brother, the Duke of Orleans, would consent to quit Europe and make that country his place of exile. So soon as information was received of the departure of the Duke of Orleans for America from Hamburg, the order was received for the deportation of the Princes at Marseilles, who were in the meantime allowed to walk when they pleased

into the city. They were, however, not permitted to leave the fort entirely, because the Civil Commissioners of the Republic disapproved of the indulgences shewn them by General Willot, and was resolved to make them feel that they were under restraint so long as they remained on the shores of France. A passage had been engaged for them on board a vessel which had been prepared to carry home some Americans who had been shipwrecked on the coast of Africa, and afterwards sold as slaves in Algiers. The ship in which the liberated Americans was brought to Marseilles had sickness on board and was obliged to perform quarantine, this caused a delay most irksome to the Princes. We shall allow the Duc de Montpensier to relate the conclusion of their captivity in his own simple style.

"After having waited with inexpressible impatience the termination of the quarantine of our intended fellow-voyagers, we, at last, learned from M. Cathalan the Consul of the United States, who hastened to announce the intelligence to us, and treated us with all possible kindness, that it was about to expire. Not only did he refuse, on the part of his Government, to receive the price of our passage to America, but by his arrangements of every kind, to which he devoted himself with earnest solicitude, he smoothed down the difficulties which might have retarded our departure. His friendly offices went so far, that he offered to receive us into his house, and to be responsible for us until the time arrived for the sailing of the vessel.

General Willot would have desired nothing better than to consent to this arrangement; but the Government-Commissioner, to whom the execution of the decree respecting our transmission had been entrusted strongly opposed it, and insisted that we should not quit the fort until the very moment of embarkation.

"'Well, then, let them embark immediately,' said the General. 'I consent to it,' replied the other, 'provided that they have an escort of fifty grenadiers until the moment the vessel sets sail.' 'With respect to the grenadiers,' said the General, 'that is my business, and I undertake the charge.'

"After this conversation, the particulars of which we did not learn until after we had profited by the consequences, the good General Willot sent one of his aides-de-camp in the most polite and amiable manner possible, to ask permission to dine with us that day, as he was not able to receive us in his own apartments, which he would have been happy to do if circumstances had permitted. This message appeared to us one of good omen, and gave us the greatest pleasure, though we did not, at the time, comprehend its real motives. Finally, about three o'clock, the General arrived, and after having excused himself for the liberty he had taken, he asked us, were we prepared to hear some good news.

"'Yes,' we replied, 'they tell us that our ship will be ready in a few days; but they have been saying the same thing for a long time, and we are weary of remaining in the fort.' 'And if I came to allow you to

go out of this melancholy fort?' 'Oh, that is impossible!' 'Well,' replied he, 'know that I am come expressly to have the satisfaction of telling you in person, that this evening you will quit a prison which you have so many and so just reasons to detest.' 'What! never to return?' 'Never, unless you wish it yourselves.'

"These words, which we scarcely ventured to believe, filled Beaujolais and me with inexpressible joy. We looked at each other, and then rushed into each other's arms. We wept, we laughed, we danced, we jumped about and, for a quarter of an hour, behaved like perfect maniacs. After these first transports, we learned from the General that though our vessel would not sail for five or six days, he was going to take us, for form sake, before the Commissioner, who wished to be present at our embarkation; that when we had been about a quarter of an hour on board, he would send a boat to bring us on shore to the house of the Consul Cathalan, where we could lodge, and then go about where we pleased, at the same time being cautious not to shew ourselves too much in the city during the day. We thanked the brave man with all our hearts for this foretaste of liberty, and we sat down to table, not to eat, but to give scope to excess of joy, which, like grief, takes away the appetite.

"After dinner, the arrival of the Government-Commissioner was announced, who, entering the room without saluting anybody, advanced towards General Willot with the most insolent air, and said to him, 'Citizen,

I did not expect to find you here,' 'Citizen,' replied the other, without appearing to divine his motives 'we soldiers are accustomed to the greatest punctuality, and I resolved not to be deficient on this occasion.' The gaoler was then summoned, and we saw, not without great emotion, our names erased from the register on which they had so long remained. The act of our liberation was then registered, and when these formalities had been completed, they announced to us that we were free to depart.

"It is impossible to describe the sensation I felt when crossing the drawbridge, and comparing my actual situation with the frightful sufferings I experienced on the occasions when I passed the bridge before, The first, at my entrance into this odious fort, in which I had been confined three years and a half; and the second, after my unfortunate attempt to escape. The present idea that I passed this bridge for the last time could scarcely find access to my mind, and I almost believed that I must be in a dream; and I dreaded the painful moment of awakening. We found a numerous detachment of grenadiers at the gate of the fort: they accompanied us to the boat, on board which we embarked with General Willot and the Commissioner. All passed as the General promised. After having remained about a quarter of an hour on board the ship, we went to the Consul's residence, who received us with open arms; he had invited our mother's friend, Madame de Charce, and General Willot to meet us. Here we passed, in the most

agreeable manner, the five or six days which preceded our departure. We only went out in the evening, like bats or owls; but the theatre amused us, and the rest of our time glided away rapidly. Still we thought ourselves too near our late odious abode, and too much exposed to the chance of being sent back from one moment to another, not to desire our departure most eagerly. Accordingly, we were overwhelmed with joy when we were informed that the vessel would set sail on the following morning. We did not sleep a moment that night, and on the 8th of November, at seven o'clock in the morning, we went on board, accompanied by the Consul Cathalan, General Willot, and the good Madame la Charce. Maugin and poor Fanny likewise followed to bid us farewell. The people of the city, informed of our departure, assembled in crowds to see us. The port and the neighbouring shore were covered with people, and numerous spectators occupied the windows and the parapets of the fort: the greater part congratulated us on our escape; some envied our lot, and others wished that our ship would spring a leak and thus deliver them from two members of the *odious race.*

"During this time General Willot hastily expressed to us his sincere wishes for our happy voyage, and for a still more happy return; his devotion to the good cause, and his hope of one day rendering it some service. The good Madame de la Charce suffered so much that, to avoid fainting, she was obliged

to quit the vessel without saying farewell. Poor Fanny wept bitterly, and Maugin shewed evident signs of sincere sorrow. At length the anchor was raised and the sails set: those who were to remain in France descended hastily into their boats, and adieux were repeated a thousand times. A fresh breeze springing up, we sailed rapidly from a land where we had been so unhappy, and to which, nevertheless, we could not avoid wishing prosperity.

"The wind having become contrary some time after, and detained us twenty-three days in the Mediterranean, we were obliged to put into Gibraltar. General O'Hara, who was then governor, rendered our short visit extremely agreeable. His attentions flattered us the more, from their striking contrast with the harsh treatment we had so long experienced. This reception, perfect in every respect so far as we were concerned, was a presage of the generous hospitality which, at a subsequent period, was manifested to us in England.

"After a passage of ninety-three days, equally long and painful, we arrived in America. All our sufferings were, if not forgotten, at least alleviated, by the thought of our being at liberty, and by the inappreciable happiness of clasping in our arms a beloved brother, whom we had so long despaired of ever seeing again."

The history of the elder brother, to whom these interesting Princes were thus re-united, must next engage our attention.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHILDREN OF PHILIPPE ÉGALITÉ.—THEIR EARLY TUITION.—MADAME DE GENLIS CONSENTS TO EDUCATE THEM.—HER MODE OF INSTRUCTION RELATED BY HERSELF.—FURTHER PARTICULARS OF HER PLAN.—DISPOSITION AND PECULIARITIES OF THE DUC DE VALOIS (LOUIS PHILIPPE).—EXERCISES OF THE PRINCES.—FÊTE TO THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS AT SPA.—HOW AND BY WHOM ARRANGED.—MILITARY ENTERTAINMENTS AT GINET, HAVRE, MONT ST. MICHEL.—BY WHOM OCCUPIED.—DESTRUCTION OF THE "IRON CAGE".—EARLY SCIENTIFIC TASTE OF LOUIS PHILIPPE.—HIS ADMISSION INTO THE JACOBIN CLUB AND INTO THE PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETY.—ANECDOTE OF LOUIS PHILIPPE AND HIS BROTHER THE DUC DE MONTPENSIER.

THE Duke and Duchess of Orleans, whose history we have related, had five children by their marriage.

1. Louis Philippe of Orleans, Duc de Valois at his birth, Duc de Chartres on the death of his grandfather (November 18th, 1785), Duke of Orleans on the death of his father (November 6th, 1793), King of the French August 7th, 1830, deposed February 24th, 1848, and since an exile in England under the name of Count de Neuilly, was born at the Palais Royal, October 6th, 1773.

2. Antoine Philippe d'Orleans, Duc de Montpensier, was born at the Palais Royal, July 3rd, 1775, and died at Twickenham, May 18th, 1807.

3. Louis Charles d'Orleans, Count de Beaujolais,

was born at the Palais Royal, October 7th, 1779, and died at Malta, May 30th, 1808.

4. Marie Caroline d'Orleans was born at the Palais Royal, August 23rd, 1777, and died of small-pox, February 6th, 1782.

5. The twin-sister of the above, Eugenie Adelaide Louise d'Orleans, *Madame*, died at Paris in the winter of 1847.

Great as were the errors, and atrocious as was, at least, one crime of the Duke of Orleans (Egalité), he was an affectionate and solicitous father. He lived at a time when the education of princes was too frequently confided to parasites and flatterers; and, indeed, when it was not easy to find men qualified by strength of principle, as well as extent of information, to undertake so important a charge. The Duke of Orleans was painfully sensible of the defects in his own education; he was one of the many who indulge in dissipated habits, while fully alive to the degradation they involve; and he resolved to train his children to different tastes, more worthy of their birth and of their rank.

The elementary education of Louis Philippe was entrusted to the Chevalier de Bonnard, a gentleman of extensive learning and amiable disposition, but coarse in his language and unpolished in his manners. Displeased, and not unreasonably, at the effect of the Chevalier's example on the manners of his sons, the Duke of Orleans determined on his removal, and, at the same time, resolved to confide the Princes

to Madame de Genlis, who had already undertaken the education of his infant daughters, and had retired with them to the convent of La Chasse. The nature of the intimacy between the Duke of Orleans and Madame de Genlis was open to much suspicion. No one, indeed, at this time seriously doubts that Pamela Seymour was the offspring of their illicit love; but at the period of which we write, suspicion was vague and uncertain, and the parties acted too discreetly to expose themselves to scandal. The Duchess of Orleans, though a fond mother, paid little attention to the education of her children, and did not for many years interfere with the arrangements of the Duke and Madame de Genlis. It was the Duke who proposed that the lady should take charge of his sons, and we extract an account of the circumstances under which such a proposition was made, from her own memoirs.

"One evening, the Duc de Chartres came, as he generally did, to Belle Chasse, between eight and nine o'clock. Finding me alone, he told me there was no time to lose in procuring a tutor for his son, for that otherwise his children would have the manners of *shopmen.* He told me also, that the Duke of Valois had said to him that very morning, that he had *drummed* at his door a long time; and that, in the same conversation he had said, when talking of his excursions to Saint Cloud, that he had been much tormented by his *relations,* meaning the *aunts.*

"These were the important reasons which induced

the Duc de Chartres no longer to defer the nomination of a governor. He consulted me on the selection of one. I proposed M. de Schomberg, whom he refused to accept, alleging that he would make the children pedantic. I then named the Chevalier de Durfort, who he said would give them a tone of bombast. I next spoke of M. de Thiars, but the Duke objected to him, as being too careless; and said that he would pay no attention at all to the children. I then began to laugh, and said, 'Well, then, what do you think of me?' 'Why not?' replied he, seriously. I protest that I only said what I have mentioned in jest, and that in all our previous conversations, nothing had occurred that could have led me to expect so singular a determination; but the air and manner of the Duc de Chartres impressed me deeply with the thought of doing something, at once glorious to myself, and unprecedented in the history of education, and I earnestly hoped that the plan might be carried out. I told the Duke, frankly, my thoughts on the subject; he appeared delighted, and said, 'The thing is decided: you must be *their tutor!*' These were his very words: he then quitted me, saying that he would return early next day. He accordingly came at eight, when we made all the necessary arrangements. It was agreed that M. de Bonnard should remain, as well as the Abbé Guizot, who had also obtained his place at my recommendation; that these gentlemen should bring the Princes daily to Belle Chasse at noon, and come to take them away at ten in the evening; that a country-

house should be purchased, at which eight months of the year should be passed; and that I should be absolute mistress of their education. Knowing that I myself was to give them lessons in history, mythology, literature, which the tutors never did, and which, added to the lessons I gave Mademoiselle d'Orleans, would not leave me an instant unemployed, the Duc de Chartres offered me twenty thousand francs. I replied, that so much time and pains could only be repaid by friendship. He insisted, but in vain; for I decidedly refused. I have thus *gratuitously* educated three princes; a fact universally acknowledged, and which has never been contested. I have asserted it in my 'Lessons of a Governess,' printed in the beginning of 1790, under the eyes of the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, who have never denied the fact. The custom of the Palais Royal was, to allow twelve thousand francs, and their apartments, to the tutors; and, at the end of their task, the King gave them a blue ribbon. This was the reward given to the Count de Pont, who had educated a single prince, and who had never given him a single lesson. This is the reason why the Duc de Chartres offered me twenty thousand francs, instead of twelve thousand; but I refused the offer, as I did all proposals of payment in money.

"Besides the great pleasure I felt in giving him this proof of attachment, the confidence he seemed to place in me was so extraordinary and so honourable to me, that it appeared as if the acceptance of money would have effaced all the glory of the thing in my own

eyes. The Duchess de Chartres was excessively delighted at my undertaking the charge of all her children. The Duc de Chartres, before making the plan public, went to acquaint the King with his intention. It was thought that he would be offended with such a deviation from custom, but, on the contrary, he approved it at once, saying, 'You are right, and I think your plan excellent.' Upon this, the matter was made public. All the persons belonging to the Palais Royal, who expected the situation of tutor to the Princes, were enraged at this, except M. de Schomberg, who behaved admirably towards me, and who remained my friend; but the Chevalier de Durfort and M. de Thiars conceived an animosity against me, which nothing could ever abate. This event did not cause so much surprise and remark in society as I had believed probable. I may truly say that the plan was generally approved of."

Madame de Genlis was, undoubtedly, a woman of a powerful and original mind. Though the plan of education she adopted was to a great extent borrowed from Rousseau, the arrangement and the details were her own, and they were admirable. Her great fault was, that she mixed up with the whole a disproportionate amount of theatrical sentimentality, which tended to eradicate the sincerity of natural affection. It must, however, be confessed, that this result was not produced; the extracts we have given from Montpensier's Memoirs in the preceding chapter, present more than one picture of the purest and warmest fraternal

love; and, as we advance, we shall find that few families were ever closer bound together by domestic sympathies than that of Orleans. Madame de Genlis gives the following account of the arrangements she made for the studies of the Princes:

"I arranged with M. Lebrun, that every morning at the Palais Royal, the Princes should rise at seven; should learn their lesson of Latin, and perform their religious duties with the Abbé, and take their lesson of arithmetic from M. Lebrun, who was to bring them to Belle Chasse at eleven. The Abbé and M. Lebrun remained, or, if they chose, went away and returned to dinner at two o'clock; after dinner they were at perfect liberty. I charged myself with the duties of the rest of the evening, up to nine o'clock; when these gentlemen returned to supper, and took away the Princes at ten. I begged M. Lebrun to keep a journal of the Princes's morning hours, leaving a blank margin for my remarks. I wrote the first few pages of this Journal;—these pages contained private instructions to M. Lebrun relative to the education of the Princes. M. Lebrun brought me this Journal every morning, which I immediately read; and I reprimanded or praised, punished or rewarded the Princes, according to its contents. In the course of the day I wrote my observations in the margin, and gave it in the evening to M. Lebrun, who brought it again to me next day. At the end of the year these manuscripts had grown into a large volume; I kept all that were written, and the collection formed as

many volumes as there were years. Besides this, I kept a private journal of all that passed between the children and myself, to which I added my remarks; and at the close of each day I read the whole to them, making them all sign the book; so that I could render an account of their education minute by minute. I thought these journals would have been very interesting to the Duke and Duchess de Chartres, but they always refused to read them, saying that they entirely confided in me. They were continued with the most scrupulous exactitude up to the end of their education; and they are now in the hands of the Duke of Orleans, to whom I gave them. I have selected many passages from them in my 'Letters of a Governess,' which I published, as I have stated, while still in France, in 1790. The first thing I did, was to remove from my new pupils, a music and singing master, the only teacher M. de Bonnard had thought proper to give them, though they had neither voice nor ear: in other matters they were totally ignorant; and the Duke of Valois, instead of listening, yawned and stretched himself, and I was greatly surprised to find him, at our first reading, lie down on the sofa on which we were sitting, and place his feet on the table before us. In order to make him sensible of my method, I ordered him into confinement, but at the same time I contrived so to make him feel the propriety of his punishment, that he never felt any resentment against me on account of it. He possessed natural good sense, which displayed itself in

the first days of our acquaintance; he was as fond of what was reasonable as other children are of whatever is frivolous. As soon as the sense of the thing was clearly presented to him, he listened with attention, and he became sincerely attached to me, because he always found me consistent and reasonable. I was obliged to cure him of a great many low phrases, and of a number of absurd fancies. He was greatly afraid of dogs, and M. de Bonnard had the kindness, in his walks in the Bois de Boulogne, to make two footmen walk before in order to clear away all the dogs that might happen to be on the road which Monseigneur had to traverse. I had only occasion to devote a single conversation, in order to make the Duke of Valois feel the absurdity of such a weakness. He listened attentively to what I said, kissed me, and begged me to give him a dog, which I did. He thus overcame his 'repugnance' to those animals which had become a real aversion: and from that day, he never evinced the slightest token of dislike to dogs. He had also a dread of the smell of vinegar, a folly of which I as easily cured him, as of his antipathy to dogs. I soon found that he possessed an astonishing memory, and I flatter myself that I succeeded in developing and cultivating in him this valuable gift of nature. I engaged as the second valet-de-chambre at Belle Chasse, a German musician, who played well on the piano, and who was perfectly well acquainted with the grammar of his own language. He was the person who taught the Duke of Valois German, and the

lessons were always given in my room, and under my own eye. I procured him an Italian valet-de-chambre, with strict orders never to talk to the Prince or his brother but in that language: and I gave him a teacher of English, of whom he took lessons in my room, as he did all which he took at Belle Chasse, except in the single instance of drawing, the latter he learnt in the drawing-room by candle light."

Madame de Genlis paid extraordinary attention to the physical training of her pupils, a part of education then, and even now too much neglected. She instituted for them a system of gymnastic exercises, which developed the muscles and strengthened the constitution; but she somewhat carried Spartan severity to excess in her modes of inuring them to bear vicissitudes and fatigue. Thus, for instance, she compelled the young princes to brave toil and cold by descending in the depth of winter into deep and damp vaults with heavy burthens on their backs. She was also accustomed to stand with them for one or two hours on the top of some house, in the month of December, and there to seek out those habitations of the poor in which no sign of fire could be traced. Her pupils were then exhorted to relieve that misery, the nature and extent of which they had just learned from practical experience in their own persons. M. Boutmy adds:—

"At Saint-Leu, their ordinary abode, they were accustomed to be their own servants, and frequently obliged to expose themselves to rain, and walk in the

snow. Swimming was one of the exercises which Madame de Genlis particularly recommended to them. In their walks, as well as in places provided for the purpose, the young princes vied with each other in running, leaping across trenches, and climbing up trees, on the tops of which they used to balance themselves for some time. They thus acquired not only agility and muscular strength, but boldness and daring, and that coolness so necessary in critical moments and difficult straits. The Duke of Orleans presided over their lessons in horsemanship. That prince was one of the best equestrians in France, and therefore his children could never have required any other master."

Madame de Genlis also took her pupils round to all the principal workshops in Paris, and made them practically learn the most important processes in the different trades. Louis Philippe surpassed all the rest in cabinet-making; aided only by his brother, the Duc de Montpensier, he manufactured for the house of a poor peasant woman of Saint-Leu, of whom he had taken charge, a large press and a table with drawers, which were as well made as if they had been manufactured by the best carpenter.

In July 1787, the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, accompanied by their children and Madame de Genlis, visited Spa. On the road they had to stop at a miserable inn, where their servants could find no accommodation; but the Princes at once agreed to act as domestics to their parents and governess. Louis Philippe, then Duc de Chartres, mounted on a ladder,

put the room in order, and nailed blinds to the windows, which had neither curtains nor shutters. These voluntary practices of industrial usefulness were the theme of jest and merriment at the time of their occurrence; but in later years the Princes of Orleans had reason to be thankful that they had been trained to triumph over inconvenience and hardships. All this would have been laudable had it not been combined with too much of theatrical sentiment and display, of which we shall quote an example in the words of Madame de Genlis herself.

"I made my pupils give at Spa a grand fête to the Duchess of Orleans. The waters of the Sauvenière having done her much good, her children constructed round that spring a beautiful walk in a spot which was formerly a wild wood full of rocks and stones. They removed the stones and rocks which obstructed the way, and marked out the roads; the woods were cleared and ornamented with seats; bridges were thrown over the torrents, and the woods were covered with charming shrubs in flower. At the end of the walk, which was very long, there was a kind of little wood, which had an opening looking out upon a precipice remarkable for its height, and for being covered with majestic piles of rock, springs, grass, and trees. Beyond that precipice lay a view of great extent and great beauty. In the wood we raised upon a plot of turf an altar to Gratitude of white marble, designed by M. de Myris. On the top of the altar were the words in large letters, '*To Gratitude;*' and below was this

inscription: 'The waters of the Sauvenière having restored the health of the Duchess of Chartres, her children embellished the neighbourhood of its springs, and have themselves traced the walks, and cleared the woods with more assiduity than the workmen who laboured under their orders.'

"Beneath this inscription was the cypher of the four children. As the inscription declared, the children had laboured at the work with the greatest assiduity, especially the Duke de Chartres and his brothers, who were stronger than Mademoiselle. As they were desirous of giving a surprise to the Duchess of Orleans, they worked in secret, rising at five in the morning, walked two leagues to reach the wood, and worked without ceasing for three hours; and this lasted for three weeks. The day of the fête I invited all the prettiest persons at Spa to come to the fountain at one in the afternoon, dressed in white with white feathers, nosegays, wreaths of wild flowers, and violet ribbons. I left all the gentlemen on the outside, and disposed all the women in groups within, some walking, some seated, &c. The Duchess of Orleans followed us, and found all the gentlemen outside. The music belonging to Vauxhall, which I had also placed at the entrance, began to play when she appeared, and acquainted me with her arrival. I went immediately to receive her at the entrance of the walk, followed by her four children. The latter carried hoes to signify that they had just finished the walk which they had devoted to her; a sentiment which

the Duke de Chartres expressed with great grace and effect. After this explanation, the children quitted her, and going by the shortest road, entered the forest where the altar was situated. All the alleys were decorated with garlands of heath, of which the soft violet-coloured blossoms contrasted beautifully with the verdant grass.

"The ground carpeted with the same flowers which covered the whole of the wood; the profusion of garlands interwoven with the trees; the rivulets which intersected the green turf, of which some rolling over pebbles and falling from the rocks, formed cascades; about thirty pretty women, all uniformly dressed, and scattered through the walks, and the beauty of the sky, formed a scene of which it is difficult to form an idea. We led the Duchess of Orleans about for nearly a quarter of an hour. At the end of this time, the music ceased, and we arrived at the front of the altar. She there saw standing about the altar her four children, who with Henrietta and Pamela formed a charming group. The altar and the wood were all hung with garlands of flowers, and the children held bouquets in their hands, which they placed on the altar. The Duke de Chartres, seated at the foot of it, held a chisel in his hand, with which he seemed to write on the altar, the word '*Gratitude.*' After having left the Duchess time enough to admire the group, the children ran to her, and threw themselves into her arms. Every one present burst into tears, which proves

that the most lively emotions are often produced by the most simple means.

"It was proposed to us to mount to the top of a high hill, upon which stands the ancient castle of Franchemont, from whence we could discern an enchanting view, the gayest we were told about Spa. We were informed that several people in debt were imprisoned in this castle; upon which the Duc de Chartres exclaimed, that 'while there were prisoners in the castle, the view did not seem to him at all *gay*;' and immediately he proposed to make a subscription among ourselves to release them. I highly approved of the idea, and thanks to the attention and ardent zeal of the Duc de Chartres, the subscription was soon made up, and the prisoners released from the castle. Afterwards we went to the mountain, and on arriving at the top of it, the Duc de Chartres, first casting his eyes on the prison, which was now empty, and then turning them to the extensive view around, said with the most touching expression, '*Now*, I confess that view appears to me as *gay* as it is admirable!'"

On their return to Paris, they passed through Givet, where M. de Valence, who commanded the garrison, gave the young Princes some military entertainments, equally ingenious and magnificent, such as the attack, defence, and burning of a mock fortress, placed on the top of a mountain, &c. After the fort had been taken, the officer who commanded the assailants, came to offer to the Duc de Chartres

his victorious sword. The Duke returned it to him, saying, "It is in too good hands already, for me to think of changing its possessor."

In the year 1787, Madame de Genlis took her pupils on another tour of recreation and instruction. One of the first places they visited was St. Vallery, and there the Duc de Chartres and his sister were invited to stand sponsors to a vessel about to be launched, which was to be named after the young Prince. This ceremony—which before the Revolution was never omitted, and which has not even yet fallen into complete desuetude—was very interesting. The sailors and fishermen of the port assembled round the launch in their gayest attire; the curé, having strewn salt and corn, as symbols of plenty, on the deck, celebrated mass, and then addressed a few words of exhortation and advice to his audience. On this occasion the officiating minister said to the Orleans family that "the benediction of a vessel about to depart on a long and dangerous voyage, was a ceremony worthy of attracting the notice of a young Prince, and likely to suggest the most useful reflections to his mind."

Havre was also visited by the party. It had not then risen to the commercial importance which it subsequently attained, but was chiefly remarkable for its arsenal and its mole. Madame de Genlis notices, among the curiosities of the place, a large slave-ship which was at anchor in the harbour, and records the shock her pupils received on learning that so noble a vessel was designed for so infamous a traffic.

They next proceeded to the fortress of Mont St. Michel, a huge rock on the northern shores of France, to which access can only be obtained when the tide is low. On its fortified summit were a garrison, a convent, and a prison; but as no troops were posted there except in time of war, the prior acted as *commandant* of the fort. The toil of climbing the precipitous ascent was very great, but they were amply recompensed for their fatigue by the magnificent view which they obtained from the summit. The Princes made anxious inquiries respecting the mode of life adopted by the monks, on a barren rock where no water but that which falls in rain can be procured, and where every article of food must be brought from the main land. The monks appear to have treated the prisoners confined at St. Michel with great humanity; but they related some painful anecdotes of the severities with which State-prisoners were treated during former reigns. An incident then occurred which we must permit Madame de Genlis herself to relate:—

"I interrogated them about the famous *iron cage;* they told me it was not of iron but of wood, framed of enormous logs, between which were interstices of the width of three or four fingers' breadth. It was about fifteen years since any prisoners had been confined there wholly; but they still put in those who were riotous for twenty-four hours or two days, though the place was horribly damp and unwholesome, and though there was another prison as strong but less

unhealthy. I expressed my surprise at this, and the prior in answer assured me that it was his intention at some future time to destroy this monument of cruelty. Upon this, Mademoiselle and her brother exclaimed that they would be delighted to have it destroyed in their presence. The prior said that he was at liberty to destroy it; for that Monseigneur, the Count d'Artois,* who had visited Mont St. Michel a few months before us, had positively commanded its demolition. The prior added that several reasons had obliged him to defer it, but that he would give the Princes the satisfaction they desired next morning, and that this would be assuredly the finest entertainment he could offer them. I occupied the chamber where the Abbé Sabatier had slept when he was confined in that prison for so noble a cause.† The monks never spoke of him without emotion and enthusiasm.

"A few hours before our departure from St. Michel, the prior, followed by the monks, two carpenters, one of the Swiss of the castle, and the greater part of the prisoners (who at our request were allowed to be present) accompanied us to the spot containing the horrible cage. In order to reach it, we were obliged to traverse caverns so dark that we had to use lighted flambeaux; and after having descended many steps, we reached a horrible cavern where stood this abo-

* Afterwards Charles X.

† For having spoken in the parliament with great force against abuses of the grossest description.

minable cage, which was extremely small, and placed on ground so damp that you saw the water running under it.

"I entered with a sentiment of horror and indignation, mingled with the pleasant feeling, that at least, thanks to my pupils, no unfortunate person would ever have to reflect with bitterness within its walls on his own misfortunes and the cruelty of men. The Duke of Chartres, with the most touching expression, and with a strength beyond his years, gave the first blow with his axe to the cage, after which the carpenters cut down the door, and removed some of the wood.

"I have never witnessed anything so affecting as the transports, the acclamations, and the applauses of the prisoners during this demolition. In the midst of the tumult I was struck with the melancholy and miserable looks of the Swiss, who regarded the operation with the greatest signs of grief. I mentioned this to the prior, who told me that the Swiss regretted the destruction of the cage, because he made money by shewing it to strangers. The Duc de Chartres gave ten louis to the Swiss, saying, that, for the future, instead of shewing the cage to travellers, he would have to point out to them the place where it once stood, and that surely *that* view would be much more agreeable to them."

Before leaving the fortress, the noble visitors obtained permission for the prisoners to accompany them to the verge of the jurisdiction of the prior and com-

mandant. There was one prisoner who had been confined for fifteen months, and who till that time had been deprived of the liberty of moving from the upper part of the fort. When he found himself on the landing-place, and observed verdure, he exhibited the greatest pleasure, exclaiming at every step, as he advanced, 'O what joy it is to walk once more on the grass!" This occurred just one year before the storming of the Bastille, and the remembrance of their visit to St. Michel had probably no small influence in exciting the warm sympathy which the Princes of Orleans felt in the destruction of that mighty monument of feudal tyranny.

Like his great ancestor, the Regent, Louis Philippe manifested a strong taste for medical studies. The "Chronique de Paris" for the 9th of December, 1790, records, "M. de Chartres has for some time regularly attended the Hôtel Dieu (the principal hospital in Paris), accompanied only by his surgeon, M. Couad. He mixes freely with the other students, attends every surgical operation, and is one of the most assiduous in assisting at the dressing of the patients." He learned to use the lancet himself, and has been more than once required to exhibit his medical and surgical skill in the varied adventures of his eventful life.

M. Boutmy asserts, that the dislike which the Court had to the Duke of Orleans extended to the members of his family, and that Louis Philippe, even in his youth, felt the effects of this hostility. He says, that "the Duc de Chartres did not get the *cordon bleu*

until long after the usual time of its being given to Princes of the Blood. The young Prince did not shew any resentment, nor did he avenge himself in any other manner than that which he had made the rule of his whole life — he placed himself above injustice.

"When at last he appeared at the Tuileries as a Knight of the Order of Saint Esprit, the whole Court appeared struck with the dignity of his mien, with his noble and easy deportment. His figure and manner, said an eye-witness, had conjointly something noble, and at once indicated gracefulness and perfect affability. To all the questions addressed to him he replied without embarrassment: the sound of his voice was pleasing, the things he said charming, and the least enthusiastic of those who were present could not help agreeing in opinion, that Madame de Genlis had made of her pupil an accomplished Prince."

It has been erroneously stated, that Madame de Genlis brought her pupils to witness the storming of the Bastille; it is, however, true, that she led them over its ruins, and endeavoured to impress them with sentiments favourable to the Revolution. But in its commencement the French Revolution gave no indications of the horrors by which its course was subsequently marked; on the contrary, it seemed to promise a new era of peace, freedom, and social happiness, and was therefore likely to captivate the imagination of an ardent and generous youth. Madame de Genlis records one anecdote of Louis Philippe's adoption of

the new republican system, which must not be omitted.

"In the early days of the Revolution, the eldest of my pupils manifested an instance of generosity and greatness of soul which I cannot overlook here. He was informed in my presence that a decree had just annulled all the rights of elder brothers; upon this he embraced the Duc de Montpensier, and exclaimed, 'Ah! how delighted I am!' He was received at the Jacobin Club, at the desire of the Duke of Orleans, certainly not mine; nevertheless it must be remembered that this club was by no means at that time what it became afterwards. However, its sentiments were of a very exaggerated description. I had caused him to be received the year before as a member of the Philanthropic Society, of which M. de Charost was the president; but, as I have stated, I did not wish him to be received into the Jacobin Club. Yet this was the pretext which was used to withdraw from me the favour of the Duchess of Orleans."

Henceforth the Orleans family was placed in open opposition to the Court, and universally identified with the cause of the Revolution. The Duc de Chartres, however, did not withhold the proper respect due to his sovereign, but occasionally attended the levees at Versailles. He did not become a frequent visitor, for he was painfully aware how much his family was disliked at Court, and had sometimes the mortification of finding himself coldly treated by the young nobility. A curious adventure belonging to this period

of Louis Philippe's life is thus recorded by M. Boutmy :

One day, the Duc de Chartres and his brother, the Duc de Montpensier, rode out on horseback through a village in the environs of Paris; it was at the commencement of the emigration. On seeing the *cordon bleu*, the peasants collected in great numbers, and pursued them with violent menaces. "You are very clever at running away!" they exclaimed, "but we shall soon catch you.' 'Then, as they accuse us of running away,' said the prince to his brother, 'let us not go far.' They stopped, and the peasants recognising them, very soon altered their tone; and, instead of menaces, evinced towards them the strongest proofs of respect and affection, greeting them with loud cries of "*Vive le Duc de Chartres! Vive le Duc d'Orleans!*"

Louis Philippe has often been reproached with having joined the Jacobin Club; but, as we have stated in a preceding chapter, that club when originally instituted, was composed of statesmen anxious to support constitutional monarchy. In discussing the characters of men and events in the French Revolution, it is above all things necessary to guard against confounding its different epochs, and misplacing responsibilities by erroneous dates. The young prince never was an active member of the Jacobin Club; he ceased to belong to it before the commencement of those revolutionary excesses which have left an everlasting stain upon its name, and he very narrowly escaped becoming its victim. That he frequently attended the

debates of the Constituent Assembly, and that he manifested a deep interest in their proceedings is a circumstance which redounds to his credit; but he took no active part in political life; and almost the only circumstance which shews him to have had any share in the political fanaticism of the time, is, that when he went to be enrolled in the National Guard, he erased the titles which followed his name, and described himself simply as "citizen of Paris."

CHAPTER III.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE JOINS HIS REGIMENT.—HIS PROTECTION OF TWO PRIESTS.—THE PENITENT PEASANT.—HUMANE AND COURAGEOUS ACTION OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE. — HIS CIVIC CROWN.— HIS SERVICE UNDER LAFAYETTE, AND INTRODUCTION TO KELLERMANN.—MANIFESTO OF THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK.—MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE ALLIES. — SKILFUL MANŒUVRE OF DUMOURIEZ.—THE COMMANDER OF VALMY.—COMMENTS UPON IT.—INTIMACY OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE WITH DUMOURIEZ.—BATTLE OF JEMAPPES. —THE EFFECT THROUGHOUT EUROPE. —POLICY OF DUMOURIEZ.—FEELINGS TOWARDS HIM OF THE CONVENTION.— HIS REVERSES. — GENERAL MIRANDA.— PROJECTS OF DUMOURIEZ. — HOW THEY ARE DEFEATED.—ANECDOTE OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE AND HIS SERVANT. — THE FORMER RETIRES TO SWITZERLAND.

A DECREE of the Constituent Assembly having ordained that all military officers should join their respective regiments, under pain of being deprived of their commissions, the Duc de Chartres, who had inherited the colonelcy of the regiment of cavalry which bore his name (now the 14th dragoons), since the 20th of November 1785, immediately set out for Vendôme, where his regiment was quartered. He at once devoted himself to his military duties with the most praiseworthy earnestness, and, by his example rather than by his authority, soon brought his regiment to so high a state of discipline, that it was regarded as a pattern to the service. He had not been long in the garrison when he had occasion

to exhibit distinguished proofs of his humanity and courage.

It is generally known that very angry passions were early kindled in the progress of the French Revolution, by the refusal of a large body of the priesthood to take the oath prescribed by the Constitution. Some of those non-juring priests went so far as to declare that their more compliant brethren had forfeited their sacred character by submitting to such a test, and were incapable of performing any sacerdotal or sacramental rite. On Corpus Christi day, when it is usual to have the host borne in solemn procession under a velvet canopy, accompanied by the clergy in full canonicals, two non-juring priests publicly insulted the procession of those who had taken the constitutional oath. A fierce tumult arose: the excited multitude would at once have suspended the two imprudent priests from the next lamp-post, had they not fortunately escaped into a house. But their place of shelter was beset by the mob, and the doors were on the point of being forced, when the Duc de Chartres accidentally came up; having learned the cause of the tumult, he made his way into the house, and came forth holding the priests by the arms, to afford them his protection. He demanded pardon for them from the mob: it was granted, but on condition that they should go through the city on foot and quit it immediately. The Duc de Chartres resolved to accompany them: several dragoons collected round their

colonel, but he commanded them to lay aside their arms, in order to shew his reliance on the promise of the people. Nevertheless, at about a mile from the town, the sight of a bridge revived the fury of the multitude, and they declared that the two insolent priests should be drowned. The Duc de Chartres reminded them of their promise, and the tumult was appeased; but at that instant an infuriated multitude of armed peasants came up, and declared that the priests must be put to death: one of them actually presented a musket at the elder of the ecclesiastics, but the Duke threw himself before the intended victims, and finally appeased the fury of the peasants. The thanks of the municipality were voted to the young colonel, who had not yet attained his eighteenth year; and even the Court joined in the applause deservedly bestowed on this act of heroism.

M. Boutmy adds another interesting circumstance, which must have given the Prince more sincere pleasure than any applause of court, camp, or city.

Next day the Prince saw a man come to him, bringing with him a basket of fruit. "For whom is this fruit?" he asked. "It is," said the peasant, "the finest in my garden; I have picked it myself, as the offering of gratitude." "For me! What have I done for you?" "I am one of those who, yesterday, wished to kill the priest whom you have saved." "Indeed!—What do you want now?" "I was out of my senses; I am saved from blood: now that I

am calm I am come to thank you for having turned me from crime."

"Some time after," says Madame de Genlis, "he performed another humane and courageous action, which obtained for him the solemn presentation of a civic crown by the city. He had been to bathe in the river, and was dressing on the shore, when one of the bathers was seized with a violent cramp, and cried out for assistance. He instantly jumped into the water, came up to him, took hold of him by the hair, and was so fortunate as to get him safe to the shore. The man he saved was a custom-house officer, and he came to the Duke's the next day along with his wife and children, to throw himself at the feet of his benefactor. This adventure took place in the middle of the day in presence of many spectators, and did great honour to the Duke. He inclosed to me, in a letter, a leaf of his civic crown, which I carefully preserved and put in my book of recollections (Souvenirs), and which I keep at this moment. He thanked me most affectionately in his letter for having made him learn to swim. In fact, when I sent him and his brother to the swimming school, I often told them that it was a branch of knowledge they ought to acquire both for themselves and others."

Long afterwards, in 1814, this civic crown was sent by the citizens of Vendôme under the escort of a guard of honour to the Duchess of Orleans, and it was carefully preserved until the late Revolution,

when it shared the fate of the rest of the Royal property.

From Vendôme the Duc de Chartres removed with his regiment to Valenciennes, where, in August 1791, as senior colonel, he took the command of the garrison. It was at Valenciennes that he met for the first time a person who was destined to exercise great influence over his subsequent fortunes—General Dumouriez, to whom he was presented by General Biron, as a model for the officers of the entire army.

War had become imminent. The emigrant princes and nobles had formed an army at Coblentz, and were not very secretly supported by the Emperor, the King of Prussia, and several of the minor princes of Germany. Evasive and almost insulting replies were made to the remonstrances of the French diplomatists; the suspicions that the Court secretly favoured the project of invasion spread universal alarm; and Louis XVI, on the 20th of April, 1792, very reluctantly proclaimed war against Austria in the hall of the Legislative Assembly. On the other hand, a coalition took place at Pilnitz between the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the two brothers of the King of France, which was supposed to be secretly favoured by Austria and England.

An admirable plan of a campaign was conceived by Dumouriez. He resolved to invade the Netherlands, recently agitated by a revolution which Austria had suppressed, believing that the inhabitants would rise on the first appearance of the French, throw off

the yoke of Austria and incorporate their country, which would thus gain the great object of the ambition of Louis XIV., the boundary of the Rhine. Lafayette was entrusted with the execution of this plan, both as a diplomatist and a commander: he demanded fifty thousand men, with whom he proposed to push forward by Namur and the Meuse to Liége, the possession of which would make him master of the Netherlands.

The Duc de Chartres served in the second division of Lafayette's army, commanded by the Duc de Biron, and took part in the first hostilities at Boussu and Quaragnon, where the French obtained some slight advantages. On the night of the 30th, however, two regiments of dragoons, though not in presence of the enemy, seized with sudden panic, raised the cry "We are betrayed!" betook themselves to flight and were followed by the whole army. The Ducs de Chartres and Montpensier, with several other officers, made every effort possible to rally the fugitives, who threatened to shoot their officers, and continued their flight. Biron bestowed high praise on the two Princes in his despatches to the Minister at War, and the Duc de Chartres was promoted to the rank of a general of brigade. He was soon afterwards ordered to Metz, and placed under the command of Kellermann, who coarsely expressed his surprise at the extreme youth of the new general; but on learning who he was, Kellermann, who had been partially indebted for his promotion to the

Duke of Orleans, complimented the son, and expressed delight at having him under his orders.

The Duc de Chartres, being soon after promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, was offered the command of Strasbourg, but he declared himself too young to be shut up in a fortified place, and preferred to remain in active service with the army. He shared the indignation which the menacing manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick had excited throughout France. In this most impolitic and unjustifiable declaration, the commander of the allied armies, instigated by the emigrants, menaced "all National Guards who should fight against the troops of the two allied Courts, and who should be taken in arms," with being treated "as enemies and punished as rebels to their King." The manifesto further declared, "That the inhabitants of the cities, towns, and villages who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, and to fire upon them, either in the open field, or from the windows, doors, and apertures of their houses, shall be instantly punished with all the rigour of military law, and their houses demolished or burned." But, perhaps, the worst of these imprudent threats, and certainly the most injurious in its consequences, was the following:—"The City of Paris and all its inhabitants, without distinction, are required to submit without delay to the King, to set that Prince at full and entire liberty, and to ensure to him, as well as to all the Royal personages, the inviolability and respect which the law of nature and

nations renders obligatory on subjects towards their sovereigns; their Imperial and Royal Majesties, holding personally responsible with their lives for all that may happen, to be tried militarily, and without hope of pardon, all the members of the National Assembly, of the department, of the district, and of the National Guard of Paris, the justices of the peace, and all others whom it shall concern; their said Majesties declaring, moreover, on their faith and word, as Emperor and King, that if the palace of the Tuilleries is forced or insulted, that if the least violence, the least outrage be offered to their Majesties the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family, if immediate provision be not made for their safety, their preservation, and their liberty, they will take an exemplary and ever-memorable vengeance, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution and total destruction, and the rebels guilty of outrages to the punishments which they shall have deserved."

The fury excited by this insulting manifesto was intense; not only the ultra-royalists but even those attached to constitutional monarchy were regarded with suspicion. Lafayette left the army to avoid arrest; but when he passed over to the Allies he was made a prisoner, contrary to all the usages of war and all the laws of honour, and remained for several years a captive.

The first movements of the Allies were tolerably successful. On the 2nd of September they gained possession of Verdun, the governor of which committed

suicide to escape the disgrace of a surrender. This conquest enabled them to separate the French army of the North from that of the Moselle and the Rhine; and now if they could succeed in throwing back the army of the North between the Aisne and the Oise, there was no obstacle to impede their march to Paris. Dumouriez arrived to take the command of the army which Lafayette had quitted; but he could not muster more than twenty-three thousand men to oppose to eighty thousand of the Allies. His principal officers urged him to retire behind the Marne, and commands to that effect reached him from the Executive Council. Fortunately the dilatory proceedings of the Allies enabled him to take a wiser course. Instead of driving the French from Sedan, they merely occupied Stenay. Thiers has admirably described the opportunity thus afforded to Dumouriez, and the means of defence which this circumstance enabled him to adopt.

"From Sedan to Passavant," says Thiers, "a forest extends, the name of which ought to be for ever famous in our annals. This is the forest of Argonne, which covers a space of from thirteen to fifteen leagues; and which, from the inequalities of the ground and the mixture of wood and water, is absolutely impenetrable to an army except by some of the principal passes. Through this forest the enemy must have penetrated in order to reach Chalons, and afterwards take the road to Paris. With such a plan it is astonishing that the Allies had not yet thought of occupying the principal passes, and thus have antici-

pated Dumouriez; who, from his position at Sedan, was separated from them by the whole length of the forest. The evening after the Council of War, the French General was considering the map with an officer on whose talents he had the greatest confidence. Pointing with his finger to the Argonne and the tracks by which it was intersected, he declared that this locality was the Thermopylæ of France, and that all would be saved if he could reach it before the Prussians."

After having skirmished some time against the Austrians under Clairfait, who had passed the Meuse at Stenay, Dumouriez, who had not been very fortunate in these preliminary operations, established his head-quarters at Sainte Menehould, where he was joined by Kellermann with twenty-five thousand men from the army of the Moselle. The Ducs de Chartres and Montpensier served under Kellermann, and were deservedly high in his confidence. The Duke of Brunswick manœuvred on the flanks of the French army, for the purpose of interposing himself between it and Chalons, shutting it up in the defiles, and cutting off its retreat. To complete this project he attacked Kellermann's division, which was posted on the heights of Valmy, and protected by a battery of artillery. The morning of the 20th of September opened with a fierce cannonade, which was continued until noon: about that time the Duke of Brunswick brought up his veteran battalions to charge the French lines. Kellermann, who knew that his army was composed of raw

troops, who had never before been under fire, went into the trenches and exhorted his men not to wait for the attack of the Prussians, but when they advanced to the crest of the hill to rush forward and meet them with the bayonet. He then shouted, '*Vive le Nation!*' the cry was taken up with enthusiasm; the French advanced repeating the inspiring cry, upon which the Duke of Brunswick halted his columns, and finally led them back to their camp."

The cannonade of Valmy, as this battle was not unappropriately called—for it was throughout a contest of artillery,—had a moral effect utterly disproportionate to its mere physical results. It afforded proof that the French soldiers, even though raw recruits, would stand fire, which the Allies had previously disbelieved; and it shewed the Duke of Brunswick that, instead of marching triumphantly and uninterruptedly to Paris, he would have to fight a serious battle at every defensible position on the road. The enthusiasm of the French soldiers was an element of war on which the Allies never calculated; its extent is singularly illustrated in an anecdote for which we are indebted to M. Boutmy:

"Among the battalions composing the infantry of the division commanded by the Duc de Chartres, there was one of the National Volunteers of the 1st Battalion of the Saône-and-Loire. It was animated with so enthusiastic a spirit, and such an ambition to rival the troops of the line, that the men appointed to the baggage-guard refused the service; and the comman-

dant could not find any who were willing to act differently. When this was reported to the general, one of the soldiers, stepping out of the ranks, said, 'We are here to defend the country; and we demand that not one of us shall be obliged to quit the colours of our battalion, for the purpose of guarding the baggage.' 'Well, then, my comrades,' replied the Duc de Chartres, 'I will exact nothing; this day the baggage shall take care of itself; you shall all march with your comrades of the line, to whom you will shew that you, as well as themselves, are good French soldiers.' The battalion marched, and never lagged for an instant. So great was the patriotic ardour of the troops belonging to every branch of the service, that the cavalry, — hussars, carabineers, dragoons, and all — wherever their horses were killed or wounded, immediately ran off to join the ranks of the infantry."

Alison's remarks on this battle are worthy of every attention. "It is," says he, "with an invading army as with an insurrection. An indecisive action is equivalent to a defeat. The affair of Valmy was merely a cannonade, the total loss on both sides did not exceed eight hundred men; the bulk of the forces on neither side was drawn out; yet it produced upon the invaders consequences equivalent to the most terrible overthrow. The Duke of Brunswick no longer ventured to despise an enemy which had shewn so much steadiness under a severe fire of artillery; the elevation of victory and the self-confidence which ensures it, had passed over to the other side. Gifted with an

uncommon degree of intelligence, and influenced by an ardent imagination, the French soldiers are easily depressed by defeat, but proportionably raised by victory; they rapidly make the transition from one state of feeling to the other. From the cannonade of Valmy may be dated the commencement of that career of victory which carried their arms to Vienna and the Kremlin."

After the Revolution of 1830, when Louis-Philippe, being raised to the throne, was able to remunerate flatterers, several pamphlets were published in which his conduct at Valmy was monstrously and even ludicrously exaggerated. On referring to the official accounts, we find that he and his brother, Montpensier, were both stationed at the Mill of Valmy, where the French battery was established; that they both displayed a coolness and firmness extraordinary for their age, under a fire of unusual severity; but we find no incident, save the rather apocryphal anecdote, told by M. Boutmy, to shew that they distinguished themselves above any other officers in the service.

The battle of Valmy was an elaborate blunder. Kellermann blundered by selecting a bad position; the Prussians blundered still worse, by not taking advantage of his error; and the Executive Council blundered worst of all, in not comprehending the plan of Dumouriez to allow the enemy to pass round his flank, and then by a flank movement, in his turn, to cut them off from their magazines. Dumouriez persevered in his plans, regardless of the errors made by his

coadjutors and superiors. The Allies, who had made no preparations for a campaign of obstinate resistance, soon began to suffer from famine and fever, when the French army was interposed between them and the frontier, and finally evacuated the French soil, with much loss and with greater disgrace. M. Boutney, whose English translator seems to have relied upon his authority too implicitly, says :—

"Ungrateful towards their allies, and more jealous of maintaining their bravadoes than of guarding their honour, the men of the emigration accused them of treason, and of having shamefully abandoned the Coalition and its original designs. This impression prevailed for a long time in the minds of persons who had reposed all their hopes in the army of the Duke of Brunswick. We are informed, that in passing through Champagne, while on his way to Rheims to attend the religious solemnities which took place on his accession to the throne, Charles X. said to the Duke of Orleans, "We have met each other before in these plains." "Yes, Sire," said the Duke, "but not under the same colours." "I have never been able to learn," added the King, "if Brunswick had, or had not, received money or orders to retire." "Sire," replied the Duke, "the courage of the French army has done it all; and I am not surprised, that after the battle of Valmy, the Duke of Brunswick was not in the humour to march upon Paris."

Now we utterly disbelieve this anecdote, and all the more because we have good reason to know that M.

Boutmy received his inspiration from the Tuilleries; when Louis-Philippe was "towering in his pride of place." The Count d'Artois (Charles X.) did assuredly believe that if the Allies had pushed rapidly and boldly on for Paris, they would have succeeded; but as certainly he never believed, or pretended to believe, that the Duke of Brunswick was bribed to turn back. Louis-Philippe under the Restoration may have referred to his conduct at Valmy and Jemappes, as he certainly did to a most extravagant excess just after the Revolution of 1830; but we doubt whether he would have ascribed such decisive effects to the battle of Valmy, when he was speaking to a person acquainted with all its circumstances.

Shortly after the retreat of the Allies, Louis-Philippe joined the army of Dumouriez, and soon became linked with that general in a political intimacy, which resulted in some intrigues of which it is not easy to unravel the secret. We have abundant evidence, as has been already mentioned, that many influential persons and parties, however anxious for the maintenance of monarchy as a type of order, did not believe that a constitutional monarchy could be established under any prince of the elder branch of the House of Bourbon. They looked to the Orleans branch as the English Whigs did to the Prince of Orange in 1688; it had just enough of right to preserve the principle of hereditary succession, and not too much to refuse a recognition of the power of popular or parliamentary appointment. We have no

very direct evidence that a party was ever formed to carry out this project; but we have abundant proof that it was contemplated; as indeed has been shewn in a preceding chapter. From the time that Dumouriez and the Duc de Chartres were brought into close intimacy, they naturally discussed the extraordinary complication produced by the growing violence of the Jacobins, and the folly or cowardice of those who ought to have been the guardians of the monarchy. It was not until August 1830, that Louis-Philippe was proclaimed King of the French, but there is reason to believe that a plan had been formed for his elevation to this throne so early as the winter of 1792, or the spring of 1793.

That there has been a systematic suppression and destruction of public documents in the French offices of state is a secret to nobody. In examining this question, we have little more to depend upon than plausible conjecture, and a few isolated facts which require a large indulgence in surmise to hold them together. These facts are few; they, however, merit attention. There was a general belief among the Republicans in France that an Orleans monarchy was the object of a large party engaged in the Revolution; paragraphs suggesting such a solution of the difficulties which beset the cause of freedom in France appeared in several journals, both at home and abroad. Dumouriez denied his participation in such a plot, but worded his letter so as to shew that he believed in its existence; and finally Napoleon, who had means

of knowing the intrigues of party, which he took good care to have destroyed, always after his deposition pointed to the Orleans branch as the only one likely to be acceptable as a continuation of the dynasty of the House of Bourbon.

There is much less done by actual conspiracy than the world generally supposes: political combinations present themselves to men's minds, and are talked over casually or confidentially, but are not acted upon until circumstances produce a conjuncture which they happen to be adequate to meet. We do not believe that in 1792 any conspiracy, plot, plan, or contrivance was formed for elevating Louis-Philippe to the throne of France; but we are certain that a large party deemed it desirable if circumstances would render it practicable.

Whatever opinion may be formed of other influences exercised by Dumouriez over the mind of the Duc de Chartres—and that influence was far greater and more permanent than is generally suspected—there can be no doubt that about the time of Louis-Philippe's close connection with the General, his zeal in the progress and cause of the Revolution had remarkably abated. We have already mentioned his anxiety to get his father out of France, not indeed to join the mad and mischievous party of the Emigrants, but to seek a residence far removed from all intrigues of party, in the United States of America. There are those who have written that Louis-Philippe gave this advice because he thought that, if his father could once be

removed, he would forthwith be put forward by the party of monarchical liberals as the fit and proper candidate for a constitutional crown; but as the monarchical liberals were obviously a miserable minority, and, what was worse, a mere set of dreamers, without any recognised or definite principle to hold them together, it is impossible to suppose that any Prince, —much less one so trained as Louis-Philippe —could have rationally looked for any advantage from their hands.

There can be no doubt that Dumouriez and Louis-Philippe were both thoroughly disgusted with the existing government of France; it would be hard to find many rational men who were not so; but this by no means proves that they would have agreed on the kind of change most desirable, and, if any reliance is to be placed on Dumouriez, their differences on this head were irreconcilable. Both, however, seem to have been of opinion that the acquisition of military glory was necessary to create a counterpoise to the exaggerated democratic influence acquired by the Jacobins, and both exerted their talents to overcome the enemies of their country.

Dumouriez never lost sight of his favourite project, the invasion of the Netherlands; he visited Paris on the 11th of October, and was received with unusual but dangerous honours. "When all parties shewed an intense anxiety to court him, he ought to have seen that his designs were suspicious to all parties." His triumphs, as they were called, proved

nothing but a long series of mortifications, while they provoked the enmity and jealousy of the Jacobins. Dumouriez returned to his camp utterly loathing the excess to which the Revolution had attained, but more than ever anxious for victory, in order to acquire the military power which would enable him to commence a reaction.

In the beginning of November, Dumouriez, though he had received only a portion of the munitions promised to him by the executive, advanced against the Austrians, and after some slight skirmishes, found himself, on the evening of the 5th, in presence of the enemy, which was intrenched on the heights skirting the city of Mons. On these heights, forming a circular range in front of the city, are situated three villages, Jemappes, Cuesmes and Berthaimont, all of which were strongly fortified, and protected by a formidable artillery. Jemappes, from which the subsequent battle derives its name, was regarded as the key of a position fondly believed by the Austrians to be impregnable.

Early on the following morning, Dumouriez, having completed his dispositions, commenced the attack. The Duc de Chartres, who commanded the centre division, attacked Jemappes in front, while Thouvenot turned the village, and marching his columns rapidly with bayonets fixed, ascended the side of the hill and arrived on the flank of the Austrians.

Dumouriez, apprized of this movement, ordered the infantry of his centre to advance in columns, and

placed hussars and dragoons to cover the hollow between Jemappes and Cuesmes, from which the enemy's cavalry was about to make a rush. His troops formed and passed the intermediate space without hesitation. One brigade, however, seeing the Austrian cavalry debouching by the hollow, paused, fell back, and uncovered the flank of the French columns. At this moment, young Baptiste Renard, who was merely a servant of Dumouriez, impelled by an inspiration of courage and intelligence, ran to the general of that brigade, reproached him with his weakness, and led him back to the hollow. A certain wavering had manifested itself through the whole centre, and the battalions began to be thrown into confusion by the fire of the batteries. The Duc de Chartres, throwing himself amidst the ranks, rallied them, formed round him a battalion, which he called the battalion of Jemappes, and urged it on vigorously against the enemy. The battle was thus restored, and Dumouriez, leaving his centre to the care of the Duc de Chartres, hastened to his right wing, which he reached just in time to prevent the battalions from giving way before the Austrian cavalry. Having repulsed the enemy's charge, Dumouriez became the assailant in his turn. His troops advanced with irresistible enthusiasm, and, carrying all before them, rendered themselves masters of the village of Cuesmes. No sooner was this exploit achieved, than Dumouriez, still uneasy on account of his centre, returned at full gallop, followed by

some squadrons; but he was met on the way by the young Duc de Montpensier, who came to inform him of the victory of the centre, which had been owing principally to the exertions of his brother the Duc de Chartres. The defeat of the Austrians was complete: they lost fifteen hundred prisoners, and about four thousand five hundred in killed and wounded.

The victory of Jemappes filled all France with joy, and Europe with new surprise. Nothing was talked of but the fact of the coolness with which the Austrian artillery had been confronted, and the intrepidity displayed in storming their redoubts. The danger and the victory were even exaggerated, and throughout all Europe the faculty of gaining great battles was again awarded to the French. In later times the political opponents of Dumouriez and Louis-Philippe have laboured to depreciate the battle of Jemappes, and have attempted to deny Louis-Philippe's eminent share in gaining the victory. But all strategists who have written on the campaign, declare that "the battalion of Jemappes" decided the fortunes of the day, and turned back the tide of success which had begun to flow in favour of the Austrians.

Belgium was now open to the French; but Dumouriez was compelled to delay some days at Mons, in consequence of the deficiency of his commissariat, none of the supplies promised him having arrived. He wanted clothing for his soldiers, who were half naked, provisions, horses for his artillery, and light carts to second the movement of the invasion, especially in a country

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where transport was extremely difficult. Lastly, he required hard cash to pay the troops, because the people of Belgium looked upon *assignats* with great suspicion. These wants were very imperfectly supplied; nevertheless, the French army commenced its march, and on the 13th the advanced guard, commanded by the Duc de Chartres, had a smart skirmish with the Austrians at Anderlach; and on the following day they entered Brussels. Before the end of the month, all Belgium was subdued as far as the Meuse, and on the 28th the tricolour flag floated over Liége.

While the army rested for the winter, the Duc de Chartres escorted Madame de Genlis and his sister into exile, as has been related in a preceding chapter. During this memorable winter Dumouriez, who was, as we have said, a warm partisan of constitutional monarchy, was shocked by the trial of the King before the National Convention, and by his iniquitous execution. The Duc de Chartres participated in his feelings of grief and indignation, though his own father had been one of the judges. Some writers of respectable authority, who do not, however, adduce any tangible evidence for their statements declare that Dumouriez had at this time formed a new plan for raising, Louis-Philippe to the throne. In confirmation of what we have already said on this subject, we shall quote the views of an able and well-informed writer, who had taken great pains to ascertain all the facts.

"That which complicates the question is, the many falsehoods, and exaggerations, then and subsequently

put forth by Dumouriez, who was, nevertheless, a greater boaster of intrigues. We do not hesitate to place amongst the number of these boasts a project which did him honour,—that of abolishing the republican system, and erecting a constitutional monarchy in favour of the Duc de Chartres. Many persons have imagined that he was aware of this design; it is certain, that in the army, as well as amongst the *modérés* of the interior, the Prince would have found a crowd of adherents. But there was one thing wanted to the accomplishment of the project, the consent of the principal person interested, who was too conscientious to usurp a crown which had just fallen in blood, too good a son to authorize proceedings which would have endangered the life of his father; in short, too enlightened, too prudent, notwithstanding his extreme youth, to be instrumental in any ambitious or ill-conceived scheme emanating from such a man as Dumouriez. However, whether the Duke was conscious or not of Dumouriez's real objects, a stern necessity rendered a union of their fortunes indispensable for a time; thanks to that species of caution which the Convention affected to establish, and the odium that the intriguers of that period attached to the title of Prince. Besides, it does not follow that, by disconnecting himself from Dumouriez, he would have escaped captivity in the territory of France; and, in that state of suspicion, absent or not from France, he could not have influenced the destiny of his father, on whose path the sun had just begun to reflect its rays,

at the moment when he fell living into the same abyss which had ingulfed Louis XVI."

But monarchy was not the only, nor the chief cause of the quarrel between Dumouriez and the National Convention. The Executive Council at Paris thwarted his plans, and compromised the safety of his army. On the other hand, he ostentatiously disregarded their instructions, and pursued his own course. Commissioners were sent to remonstrate with him on his disobedience, and they made the following report to the National Convention :—

" Intrusted by the minister of foreign affairs with an important mission, we repaired to Tournay, where the army was, to hold a consultation with General Dumouriez, on the best means of preserving Belgium, and upon the subject of the proclamation he had made. We arrived on Tuesday, the 26th. Citizen Proly, who was previously known to the General, waited on him. He found him at the house of Madame de Sillery, in company with that lady, the Misses Egalité and Pamela. He was attended also by Generals Valence and Egalité; and the deputies from Valenciennes and Cambray, who had come there to express their fears, were also present.

" Amongst other unbecoming observations which he did not hesitate to make, Dumouriez said, that the Convention was the cause of all the misfortunes of France; that it was composed of 745 tyrants, all regicides; that he (Dumouriez) was strong enough to bring them to a sense of propriety; and that, if they

were to call him Cæsar, Cromwell, or Monk, he was still resolved to save his country."

Secret denunciations to the same effect were made against the Duc de Chartres; his destruction, and that of Dumouriez, were determined upon by the Jacobins, and the blow was only delayed because it was deemed unsafe to attempt their arrest when they were in the full career of victory. The first reverse was to be the signal for the enterprise, and that came sooner than had been expected.

Dumouriez opened the next campaign with great vigour, and seemed likely to achieve the conquest of Holland. But the armies of the Coalition, to which England, and nearly all the minor States of Germany had now acceded, advanced with great force on the frontier line of France, and compelled the French to raise the siege of Maestricht. Dumouriez, abandoning his meditated invasion of Holland, assembled his forces, and resolved to hazard the chances of a battle. His troops were wretchedly equipped, and badly supplied with provisions; he had offended the authorities in Paris too deeply to expect that they would make any unusual exertions to strengthen his commissariat; no reinforcements were on their march to join him; while the Archduke Charles, who commanded the Austrians, almost daily received fresh accessions of strength. Dumouriez was further aware, that a victory was necessary to his political safety. He had paid a short visit to Paris during the winter, and had imprudently denounced all the proceedings of the Conven-

tion, and particularly their treatment of Louis XVI. Such conduct, added to the former suspicions entertained of his monarchical tendencies, brought on him the hatred of the ardent Republicans. He was painfully conscious of the fact, and accordingly he longed to acquire such strength by a victory as would enable him to triumph over his political enemies.

The Memoirs of Dumouriez are not to be relied upon. He antedates his plans, declaring that his monarchical projects had been formed long before he learned that there was no safety for him under the Republic. But, in truth, it is almost certain, that he had formed no very definite plan of any kind. He detested the Convention, although he had not determined what was to be substituted in its place; but he still more bitterly hated the Emigrants and ultra-Royalists, who would have reserved all important military commands for the scions of royal and noble families. Some brilliant victory, which would have entitled him to claim the right of mediating between the Allies and the French, and also between the Monarchists and the Republicans, was the great object of his aspirations, and notwithstanding his numerical inferiority, he resolved to trust the chances of a battle to the impetuosity and patriotism of an army which had conquered at Jemappes.

On the 18th of March, 1793, General Valence, who commanded the right wing, commenced the attack upon the Austrian position by fiercely assailing the village of Neerwinden. The Duc de Chartres, who

commanded the centre, held his columns ready to support this movement, should Valence's force prove insufficient or the result doubtful. The attack, however, was made with so much boldness and impetuosity that it was crowned with complete success. Valence, having driven the Austrians out of the village, unfortunately advanced too far beyond it in pursuit, without knowing what was taking place in other parts of the field. The unguarded village was soon recovered by the Austrians, and thus the right wing was dangerously severed from the centre.

The Duc de Chartres at once perceived the critical situation in which the impetuosity of Valence had placed the French army. He led forward his columns, who were already murmuring at the improbability of their having a share in the battle. They rushed upon Neezwinden, and were encountered with an obstinate resistance, hardly less remarkable than their own impetuosity. Twice was the village taken and retaken. The French succeeded in mastering it a third time, after a horrible carnage. The right and the centre were thus once more placed in communication, and the Duc de Chartres took the command of the former, General Valence having been severely wounded. At two o'clock, Dumouriez believed himself master of the field; but later in the evening he learned that his left wing had fled in utter confusion. Miranda, who commanded this portion of the army, was very jealous of Dumouriez: he cannot, perhaps, be convicted of treachery, but his envy of the commander-

in-chief, degenerated into malevolence, which compromised the safety of the army. His retreat left the flank of the centre quite exposed, and, had the Allies acted with promptitude, nothing could have saved Dumouriez from destruction. He was, however, compelled to retreat; but he effected his retrograde movement in the most masterly manner. The Duc de Chartres took the command of the right wing and half the centre. Conducting his four columns with equal skill and intrepidity, he coolly retired before a formidable enemy, and crossed the three bridges of the Gette without sustaining any loss. On the 19th the French found themselves in the position which they had quitted on the 17th, but with a loss of four thousand killed, with a desertion of more than ten thousand fugitives, who were already hurrying towards the interior, and with the discouragement of a lost battle.

Dumouriez attributed his defeat to the Jacobins of Paris, who had withheld from him the reinforcements and munitions of war, which were necessary to ensure success. His expressions of resentment, repeated by his staff, were circulated through the army; he hoped that similar feelings would spread among the soldiers, and that he could induce them to march on Paris for the purpose of dissolving the Convention. He communicated his views to the Austrian colonel Mack, who had visited him, to regulate the details of an armistice; and he was led from one step to another, until at length he agreed

to unite with the Imperialists in marching to Paris, and overthrowing a government which both viewed as inconsistent with the maintenance of social order. The threats of Dumouriez were too openly expressed not to be soon known to the Convention. Letters were received from the army, stating that he was on the point of raising the standard of revolt, and that he would be supported by General Valence and the Duc de Chartres. A decree for his arrest was speedily passed, four commissioners, accompanied by the minister-at-war, were directed to proceed to the camp, to notify the decree and to bring the General to Paris. He was at supper with the Duc de Chartres when the courier arrived with the news. As he read the decree obtained by the Committee of Public Safety, he gave full scope to his indignation: the young Prince, while he expressed his regret, endeavoured to persuade the General to moderate his transports of rage. Dumouriez opened another despatch, and said, "It is your turn now, my young friend: here is a letter for you, enclosing a similar order!"

It was now time to act. Dumouriez moved his army to the field of Bruille, where he threatened at once the three important fortresses of Lille, Condé, and Valenciennes. He was quite undecided what course to pursue, for his army was divided in opinion. The artillery, the troops of the line, and the cavalry,—in fact, all the organised corps,—appeared to be devoted to him; but the national volunteers began to murmur, and to separate themselves from the

others. In this situation he had but one expedient —to disarm the volunteers. But this exposed him to the risk of a battle, and the issue would be precarious; for the troops of the line might probably have refused to fire upon their comrades. Besides, among those volunteers were some who had fought well, and who appeared to be attached to him. Hesitating as to this measure of severity, he considered how he was to make himself master of the three fortresses amidst which he was posted. By means of these he would be certain of obtaining supplies, he would have a line of support against Paris, and he would be independent of the Austrians, whom he still distrusted. But in these three places public opinion was divided: the clubs, aided by the volunteers, denounced the authority of Dumouriez, and menaced the troops of the line; in Condé alone the presence of Neuilly's corps gave his partisans some advantage.

An attempt to assassinate the General produced a great sensation in the army, and excited such enthusiasm that he at once raised his standard, and detached Miaczinsky with a few thousand men to occupy Lille. Miaczinsky suffered himself to be separated from his men: he was treacherously persuaded to enter Lille with only a small escort, but he no sooner passed the gates than he was surrounded, overpowered, and delivered over to the authorities. The officer sent to surprise Valenciennes betrayed his employer, and joined the Com-

missioners of the Convention. Condé was thus the last chance of Dumouriez, and towards this fortress he led his forces.

On the evening of the 2nd of April, the deputies appointed by the Convention arrived at the quarters of Dumouriez; they communicated the decree, and insisted on his obedience. A long and rather angry discussion ensued, which ended by Dumouriez ordering his hussars to arrest the four Commissioners and Bournonville, who had accompanied them. He then sent them off, under an escort, to Tournay, to be kept as hostages by the Austrians. The very next morning he mounted his horse, issued a proclamation to the army and to France, and found in his soldiers, especially those of the line, dispositions to all appearance the most favourable.

On the morning of the 4th, Dumouriez set out from St. Amand for Condé. By some error, an escort of fifty dragoons, which he had ordered, did not make its appearance; and the General, who had fixed an early hour for an interview with the Duke of Saxe. Coburg, left an officer to bring the escort, and set out accompanied only by the Duc de Chartres, Colonels Thouvenot and Montjoie, and the officers of his staff.

When within about half a league of Condé, an officer, sent by General Neuilly, met Dumouriez, and informed him that opinion was greatly divided in the garrison, and that it would not be safe for him to venture within the gates. Nearly at the same

time he met on the road a column of four battalions of volunteers, whom he was extremely surprised to find there, as he had given them no orders to shift their quarters. Combining their unexpected appearance with the intelligence he had just received from Condé, and with the resistance his projects had met from the volunteers, he rightly conjectured that this was a hostile movement, which it would be prudent to baffle. He was just alighting from his horse to write an order for them to return, when he heard shouts and the firing of muskets. The battalions broke, the volunteers rushed forward to arrest the little party, who had to make their escape over a ditch and through a marsh, under a heavy fire of musketry, which killed four of the General's attendants. The Duc de Chartres and General Valence were separated from Dumouriez, and closely pursued by a detachment of cavalry. The following interesting anecdote connected with their escape is related by M. Boutmy.

"A battalion of the Yonne, commanded by Davoust, afterwards Prince of Eckmühl, met the two Generals, and, without knowing who they were, fired upon them. No person was touched, but the first sentinel at the post gave the alarm, and a detachment of cavalry galloped off in pursuit of them. It was upon this occasion that the presence of mind of Baudouin, the groom of the Duc de Chartres, proved so invaluable to them. That faithful servant, in order to draw off the attention of the pursuers of his master, pretended to be

wounded, and lay stretched on the side of the road near a hayrick, behind which he had taken the precaution to conceal his horse. When the cavalry came up, they asked him if he had seen the persons of whom they were in pursuit, and what road they had taken? Baudouin pointed to a totally different direction from that taken by his master, and, when the cavalry were out of sight, hurried off to rejoin the Prince, whose misfortunes he felt a pride in sharing."

On reaching the frontier, the Duc de Chartres proceeded to Mons, then the head-quarters of the Austrian army. There the commanders of the Allies offered him service with the same rank he had held in the French army,—an offer which he was strongly urged to accept by the Prince of Coburg. But Louis-Philippe, though he hated the system of the Convention, firmly refused to bear arms against his country. Independent of patriotic motives, he must have known that his name and family were too odious to the Princes and nobles of the first emigration to allow of their ever acting in concert together. He only remained at Mons until he had communicated with his mother, then living in comparative safety at Vernon. He then obtained passports for Switzerland, and set out in the disguise of an English traveller, accompanied by his aid-de-camp, Cæsar Ducrest.

CHAPTER IV.

PAMELA SEYMOUR AND LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD.—BARÈRE.—THE ORLEANS FAMILY IN SWITZERLAND.—WANDERINGS OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE.—THE HOST AT COBLENTZ.—ACCOUNT OF MADAME DE GENLIS OF AN OUTRAGE AT ZAG.—THE PRINCESS AND HER GOVERNESS AT THE CONVENT.—CONSTERNATION OF THE PRIORESS—AFFECTING LETTER OF THE PRINCESS TO HER AUNT.—RUMOURS AGAINST MADAME DE GENLIS.—LETTER OF THE PRINCESS IN RELATION TO THEM.—HER DEPARTURE TO HER AUNT.—LOUIS-PHILIPPE AND THE MONK OF ST. GOTHARD.—ANECDOTES OF THE FORMER.—HIS PROFESSORSHIP AT RICHENAU.—HOW HE ACQUITTED HIMSELF.—MADAME DE FLAHAUT AND THE AMERICAN MINISTER.—LETTER OF THE FORMER TO HIM.—HOW HE RESPONDS TO IT.—ARRIVAL OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE IN HAMBURGH.

We have already mentioned in a preceding chapter that a rigorous application of the emigrant laws had compelled the Duke of Orleans (Egalité) to send his only daughter, the Princess Adelaide, beyond the French frontiers. Belgium was chosen as the place of her exile, and thither she was accompanied by Madame de Genlis, and the two friends of her infancy, Pamela Seymour,* and Henrietta de Sercey.

* Shortly after their arrival in Tournay, Pamela Seymour was married to a young Irish nobleman, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, son of the Duke of Leinster, whose affections she had gained. When first her marriage was discussed on her return from England, it was thought necessary to appoint a guardian, in consequence of the mystery in which the secret of her birth was purposely involved. She made the selection herself, in the presence of Madame de Genlis, who, however, probably guided her choice.

When Tournay was menaced by the Austrians, the Duc de Chartres brought Madame de Genlis and his sister to St. Armand, but after being compromised in the defection of Dumouriez, he prevailed with some difficulty on Madame de Genlis to remove with the Princess to Switzerland. They proceeded to Schaffhausen under the care of Colonel de Montjoie, who had also been included in the list of arrests ordered by the Convention.

She nominated Barère, then known only as a man of letters and a pleasant companion, whom no one at the time could have supposed likely to acquire the terrible celebrity which gathered round his name in subsequent years.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald had warmly adopted the principles of the French Revolution, and his enthusiasm was not cooled by a union with a pupil of Madame de Genlis. Soon after his marriage, Lord Edward returned to his native country, and became the chief of the conspiracy formed by the United Irishmen to overthrow the English government and establish a republic in Ireland. Betrayed by an associate, an armed party was sent to arrest him, but he made a fierce resistance, and was not secured until he had been severely wounded. He died in prison from the effect of his wounds before he could be brought to trial; but all his property was confiscated by an act of attainder, passed by the Irish parliament. This act was subsequently repealed in favour of Lord Edward's son and daughter, at the personal desire of George IV. The son was an officer who highly distinguished himself in the Peninsular campaigns, under the Duke of Wellington; the daughter became the wife of one of his gallant companions in arms. Lady Pamela married a second time, was divorced, and then resumed the illustrious name which it is to be regretted that she ever laid aside. She lived for some time in obscurity at Montauban; but after the Revolution of 1830 she went to Paris, and obtained a pension from Louis-Philippe. Barère soon after came to that capital, and one day a lady, dressed

The Duc de Chartres was now traversing as a fugitive the countries through which he had passed a few months before, with the French army, as a victorious general. The towns were filled with emigrants flying from the despotism of the Convention, and they told such tales of the Reign of Terror in Paris, that the very name of France seemed to fill foreigners with horror. To avoid recognition, the Prince was obliged to have recourse to the most minute precautions. Thus, at Liége, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Cologne, he did not venture to dine at the *table-d'hôte*, nor to appear publicly in the streets.

in deep mourning, presented herself in his anti-chamber as lady-in-waiting to his ancient ward. "You are attached to a person for whom I have always felt a sincere affection," said Barère to this lady; "tell me some news about her; is she happy?" "Alas! no," replied the unknown; "but Lady Pamela Fitzgerald often speaks with gratitude of the attention her guardian bestowed upon her." "I should greatly like to see the dear good Pamela again," continued Barère, with a scrutinising glance; "tell her, Madame, that I have carefully preserved her portrait, and that I bore it about with me during my exile." "You have her portrait?" cried the unknown lady; "O, Sir, have the kindness to let me see it!" When the portrait was shewn to her she involuntarily exclaimed, "Gracious heaven! how handsome I was! "It is you, Pamela," cried Barère; "you can no longer conceal yourself." "Yes," she replied, "it is I, who could not overcome my anxiety to embrace you. You find me greatly changed, do you not? But I have suffered so much. I will tell you the whole story at some future time." Then seizing the portrait with extreme vivacity, she said, "Lend it—lend it to me: I wish to shew it to one of my female friends." She then took leave with tears in her eyes. Barère never saw her again. She died at Paris in November, 1831.

At Coblentz he found but few remains of that pompous Court which the brothers of Louis XVI. and the other emigrant Princes and nobles of France had established in anticipated triumph over the Revolution. The battle of Valmy had quelled their proud hopes, and alienated the King of Prussia from their cause. This monarch blamed the Princes for the defeat of his army, and treated them with such mortifying coldness, that they broke up their court and removed to a distance. A whimsical anecdote of the Duc de Chartres and his host at Coblentz, is thus related by M. Boutmy.

"At the hotel where the Duc de Chartres lodged, he was surprised to see his portrait and those of all his family. Curious to learn the motive that had inspired his host with the idea of such an ovation, at a moment when so many dangers menaced every member of the Orleans family, he asked him what it meant. 'It is a reminiscence of their having stopped here,' replied the innkeeper, 'I have received them all.' 'All?' said the Duke—'Yes, all, without exception.' And he persevered so far in the falsehood as to shew the illustrious traveller the apartments which each of these noble personages had occupied during their sojourn there.

"The poor man little thought that the stranger whom he was thus conducting through his house was one of those very Princes whose portraits he had so carefully collected."

At Frankfort, he learned from the papers the arrest of his father and brothers, and their transmission as

prisoners to Marseilles. His own defection may have accelerated, but it could not be said to have caused, this catastrophe. We have already seen that the Jacobins had resolved on the destruction of the Orleans family, which they regarded as a kind of personification of the constitution of 1791, — a constitution equally detested by the ultra-Royalists and the ultra-Republicans.

The Government of Switzerland was at this time purely aristocratic. The families between which the powers of the State were divided, had for the most part held command in the Swiss regiments which had been in the service of France, and they therefore preserved a vindictive remembrance of the massacre of the Swiss guards on the 10th of August. Their prejudices were further excited by the multitude of Royalist emigrants who sought shelter in Switzerland. These men had learned to look upon the Duke of Orleans as the great leader of the Revolution, and they exerted themselves successfully to raise a prejudice against his family in the minds of the Swiss magistracy. At Zurich, whither the Duc de Chartres had conveyed his sister from Schaffhausen, an emigrant who recognised them as they were walking in the evening through the public square, strode by Mademoiselle d'Orleans, in the most insulting manner, and purposely tore away part of her gown with his spur. Soon after the magistrates of Zurich waited on the exiles, and informed them that they must remove to some other locality.

Maintaining all possible privacy, the Duc de Chartres retired with the ladies to Zug, and took a small house in a secluded situation on the banks of the lake not far from the town. Here they spent a month in perfect tranquillity, never quitting the house but to take exercise or attend to their religious duties. They were much respected by the poor peasants, whose wants they relieved so far as their limited means permitted.

Such was their situation when some Royalist emigrants passed through Zug. Though personally unknown to the exiles, they recognised the Duc de Chartres, whom they had seen at Versailles, and they published the circumstance through the town. The magistrates did not wish to annoy persons whose inoffensive and secluded life injured nobody; but some malicious persons wrote articles on the subject in the German papers, and letters from Berne commanded the magistrates to expel the Orleans family from their territory. Through the interest of M. de Montesquiou refuge was found for the ladies in a convent near Bremgarten, while the Duc de Chartres started on a pedestrian tour through Switzerland. An incident, narrated by Madame de Genlis, will shew the intensity of the hatred with which the Orleans family was regarded by the Royalist emigrants and their adherents.

"On the 26th of June, the evening before our departure, I was sitting, at a quarter past ten, in my own room, immediately over the parlour: the Duke of Chartres, as usual, had gone to bed, as well as

the only servant in the house; when Mademoiselle had, fortunately, something to say to me, rose from her seat, left the candle on the table, took off her bonnet, hung it on the back of the chair, and came up to me along with my niece. I was writing at a table, likewise placed beside the window, and rose when I saw her come in; I sat down in an arm-chair, between the two windows, and took her on my lap; but scarcely had we sat down, before we heard a very loud noise, produced by a large stone, thrown at the parlour window. In half a minute more, several other stones were thrown at the window I had just left, and broke the panes with such a crash, that it awakened the Duc de Chartres, who jumped from his bed, laid hold of a stick (which is a powerful weapon in his hands), and ran to the door, calling for his servant, who also got up. They ran out of the house after the murderous ruffians (for surely those who committed such an action deserve the name), but the villains made off in all haste. The Duke thought, by the noise they made in running away, that they were not more than two or three in number. We went down to the parlour, and saw that the first stone had been thrown at the place usually occupied by Mademoiselle, and at the bonnet, which, as I have already said, she had hung on the chair-back; for the villains had taken the bonnet for her head, which was natural enough at the distance at which they were. They had taken their aim with great precision, for the pane of glass oppo-

site to the bonnet was broken, the bonnet thrown down, and the stone, which was as large as one's hand, had gone straight forward to the other end of the room, and had broken a piece of earthenware belonging to the stove. I picked up the stone, and returned my sincere thanks to heaven for not having permitted the innocent child they were about to murder, to remain one minute longer in her place, which she would not have ordinarily left till half an hour afterwards. I carefully preserved the stone, and got it polished and cut into a medallion, with these words engraved on it, *Innocence, Providence.* Two sets of harness, belonging to the Duc de Chartres, were the same night, not stolen, but cut to pieces. We made a legal deposition of these occurrences, concerning which I shall offer no conjectures; but I may assert, that we were particularly beloved at Zug, and that when we went out daily to walk in the fields, or to go to church, often passing through the town on foot, we not only never received the slightest insult, but the people always displayed to every one of us the utmost kindness and goodwill. The day after this event took place, we set out at ten in the morning; we passed through the town, and saw on every face the expression of interest in our welfare, and regret at seeing our departure."

By the advice of M. de Montesquiou, Madame de Genlis passed herself off at the convent as an Irish lady named Lennox, while she represented the Princess and Henrietta as her nieces, giving them the

names of the Misses Stuart. The Duc de Chartres conducted the ladies to the gate of the convent, and took leave of his sister, promising when he had completed his tour to come and reside near her at Bremgarten. Fifteen years of misfortune and suffering elapsed before the brother and sister met again.

The prioress of the convent where the Princess had found shelter, was a lady of wit and intelligence, perfectly cognizant of every thing which had taken place in France, and of the distinctions between its political parties. She took a pleasure in conversing with the Princess and Henrietta, unknown to Madame de Genlis, and embarrassed them by her inquisitive and searching questions. The frequent visits of M. de Montesquiou, well known as a Frenchman at Bremgarten, increased the difficulty of continuing the deception, and at length the young ladies were forced tacitly to acknowledge that they were natives of France. They could not, however, be induced to extend their confession beyond a silent acquiescence in this discovery of the prioress; but even so much was enough to justify her in seeking an explanation from Madame de Genlis; if there were no Misses Stuart, it was probable that Madame Lennox was a similar fiction. An authoress is a bad retainer of a secret, especially where her own vanity is concerned. Madame de Genlis, who piqued herself on her conversational powers and her political knowledge, favoured the prioress with clever sketches of the political parties and public men in France; but in

doing so she so clearly shewed her own connection with the House of Orleans, that it was impossible to keep the secret a moment longer.

At first the prioress burst forth into despairing exclamations, evincing as much emotion as if she had learned that a daughter of Satan himself was an inmate of her convent. Her agitation was calmed with some difficulty, and she then went into the opposite extreme of compassionate attachment for a young Princess who passed most of her time in tears and prayers. Mademoiselle d'Orleans was attacked by a violent fit of illness; the prioress shared with Madame de Genlis the charge of the patient, and became everyday more charmed by the mildness, the resignation, and the piety of the exiled Princess. Just as she was convalescent, intelligence arrived of the death of the unfortunate queen, Marie Antoinette. In the delicate state of the Princess's health it was deemed prudent to keep this sad event from her knowledge. But about twenty days afterwards the death of her father, the unfortunate Egalité, was announced. After some deliberation the prioress and Madame de Genlis resolved that she should only be informed of the Queen's fate. She put on mourning, and was carefully watched by her kind friends, lest by some means she should learn the full extent of her loss. About this time she wrote to her uncle, the Duke of Modena, soliciting admission to some convent in his dominion. The Duke of Modena answered that *political* reasons prevented him from

receiving any of the Orleans family. He sent his niece a small sum of money, and there the correspondence terminated.

The secret of the residence of the exiles at Bremgarten oozed out, and became the subject of much comment in the public journals. This exposed them to a renewal of the annoyances which had already compelled them to quit Zurich and Zug; indeed, but for the zealous exertions of M. de Montesquiou, they would have been compelled to quit the convent without knowing where else they could find shelter. Soon after this Mademoiselle d'Orleans learned that her aunt, the Princess of Conti, was at Friburg, in Switzerland, and she addressed the following touching epistle to her :—

"My Dear Aunt,

"I have now been eleven months in Switzerland, and ten in a convent. At my arrival I knew not that my aunt was in the country: I wrote to my mother, who was then at liberty, to ask for her commands; I sent four letters to her by my servants, whom I was sending back to France; besides this, I have several times written to her by persons I could depend on; but not one of her answers has ever reached me, though I have been anxiously looking for one for more than four months. At last I lost all hope, and applied to the Duke of Modena, as the only person of our family who could afford me an asylum. It was immediately after this step, five months ago, that I

learned that my dear aunt was in Switzerland; till that time I had been ignorant of it, for I lived totally secluded. The Duke of Modena was unable to receive me. When his answer came, I was dangerously ill from the effects of the measles, and from an attack of languor, from which I am not yet perfectly recovered, and my illness was the cause why I had not the honour of writing to my aunt immediately. Six weeks afterwards, I requested M. Honeggre, a magistrate of this place, to be so good as to get my letter sent safe to Friburg, as I did not wish to forward it by post, because I imagined my aunt was not known under her own name, and I knew not the one she had assumed. M. Honeggre would have nothing whatever to do with the letter, without giving me any reason for his refusal, and so I busied myself in finding out some other person to do me the favour. M. Hoge, a celebrated physician, passed through this place two months ago, when I consulted him on my health, and likewise asked him if he knew any person at Friburg to whom he could send a letter to be delivered to my aunt. He told me that he knew no one there, but that he would endeavour to do so, and would take charge of my letter. These are the causes, my dear aunt, why the step I am now taking the liberty to have recourse to has been so long deferred. I left France in 1791, spent a year and a half in England, whence my father recalled me, on account of the law concerning the emigrants, and I set out on my return in November 1792. When I reached Paris,

my governess, Madame de Genlis, delivered me up to my father, and resigned her place; but the very day after our arrival, a law was passed declaring us emigrants, and we found it necessary to set out again immediately. Madame de Genlis wished to return to England, but my father would not allow me to go back thither. He requested her to take me to Belgium (which was not then united to France), and told her I had nobody to accompany me thither, as every one was afraid of being put on the list of emigrants, and I could not even find a waiting-maid. My father added, that he asked her only to go to Tournay, and to remain with me there three or four weeks; for that in the interval he should seek, through the family of M. Valkiers, for a person at Brussels to go to Tournay in her place. On these conditions Madame de Genlis consented to attend me; but would merely accompany me as a friend, and remain only till the person came to take her place. After spending two days in Paris, we left France in the month of November, 1792. When we reached Tournay, Madame de Genlis made every thing ready for her departure for England. A month after our arrival, she gave Pamela, a young lady she had brought up, in marriage to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who both set out for England immediately afterwards. As the person my father promised to send had not arrived, Madame de Genlis did not depart along with them; but she wrote continual letters to hasten that person's arrival, and was always told in reply that

she would be with us in eight or ten days. Still she came not: the King's death happened, and war was declared. I was very seriously ill at the time, and had a relapse three weeks afterwards. In the state I was in, Madame de Genlis would not abandon me. Finally, Belgium was retaken, and General Dumouriez arrived at Tournay. We had no acquaintance with him, but he pitied our situation. We could not remain at Tournay, as the Austrians were about to enter it, and could not return to France, as a law forbade us to do so on pain of death. M. Dumouriez offered us an asylum in his camp. We set out with his army, and stopped in the town of St. Amand, while he remained at the mineral springs, a quarter of a league distant. A revolt broke out next day, when Madame de Genlis wished to set out immediately, and to travel to Mons as an English lady, then traverse Germany and enter Switzerland; but, as she foresaw many dangers on her way, she told my eldest brother that, as she had not been my governess for the last four months and a half, she would not take charge of me. My brother pressed her in vain to take me with her. She absolutely refused; but, at the moment she was entering the carriage, my brother carried me to her, and I was in a most shocking state. She could not resist my tears and my brother's entreaties; she took me into the carriage, and we instantly set out. All this was so unforeseen, that not one of my trunks was put into the carriage. I took with me only what I had on; my jewels, and every-

thing belonging to me I left behind me, with the exception of my watch; and everything was irrecoverably lost, as the camp had revolted.

"After encountering very imminent dangers, we reached the Austrian advanced posts through bye-paths, and represented ourselves as English ladies. The Baron de Vounianski believed us, and gave us passports, along with an escort to conduct us to Mons. I can truly assert, that Madame de Genlis saved my life by consenting to take me with her,—for my brother was obliged to remain in the camp three or four days after our departure, and could only escape from it on horseback and by fighting his way,—while I had the measles the very day of my departure, and was detained by it ten days at an inn in Mons, where we had no intention of stopping at all. The Austrians recognized us, but offered me an asylum, which I did not accept, lest my staying in the country might increase the danger of my parents. Though still very unwell, I set out on the tenth day after being attacked by the measles, and arrived in Switzerland; where I have had several fits of illness from the effects of my former complaint, and where I have taken all the steps I have just mentioned to my aunt. It will, undoubtedly, be very painful to me to leave a person whom I have never quitted since I was in my cradle, who has taught me all that I know, who has sacrificed every thing to me, and who, for the last seventeen months particularly, has rendered me every species of care and services, to which I owe my life; but for the last three

years, since the period when she gave in her first resignation, I have always seen her on the eve of leaving me; so that I have, unfortunately, been for a long time prepared for this separation. She has carefully cultivated in my mind the feelings, respect, and affection I owe to the dear authors of my existence, and the attachment I owe to my family. It is, therefore, most sincerely, and with the strong desire of obtaining this favour, that I take the liberty, my dear aunt, of earnestly requesting you to receive your unfortunate niece. My age is only sixteen years and six months; I have been out of France for two years and a half; I have neither sufficient experience nor sufficient knowledge to form any opinion on public affairs; not only have I never heard any conversation on the subject, but for two years past I have not been allowed to read the newspapers. All I know of them is, that they are so full of cruel and impious deeds that a young lady cannot possibly read them. Nothing could change the principles of religion and humanity that were inculcated in my mind from my childhood. If my aunt deigns to receive me, and to give me the most valuable and most honourable asylum I can now enjoy, she will find in me all the submission, love, and respect, of the most affectionate daughter. At any rate I am sure in placing myself under your care, I shall follow my mother's wishes, and for her safety it is doubtless better that this should be done after she has been deprived of freedom; for had I

gone immediately to you while she was yet free, it might have been said in France that I acted by her orders, which, of course, would necessarily require a regular correspondence, and that would have been held to be a crime. Unfortunately, such is not now the case, for she has not been at liberty for several months, and I have been nearly a year in Switzerland. I entreat my dear aunt to have the goodness to reflect, that if she does not deign to give me an asylum, and Madame de Genlis leaves me, I shall not know what to do; for without her I cannot remain in the convent where I now am. Besides, the air of the place is unfavourable to me: the convent has no large garden; the apartments are wretched, and I know that I could not survive my misery if I remained in it with a stranger. My eldest brother is but twenty, and cannot act as my guide and guardian, both on account of his age and the circumstances he is placed in; and even if he could, as it is thought he might come in a few months hence to reside with M. de Montesquiou, I could not live in the same house with him, for M. de Montesquiou has a great many other young men with him who are unmarried. Besides, I confess that Bremgarten, where I have been exposed to so many misfortunes, would even now be hateful in my eyes, if I were not along with her who brought me up from my infancy, and would become utterly odious to me at her departure. I take the liberty of mentioning these particulars, that my aunt

may be perfectly acquainted with my situation: in regard to everything else, I wish only to obey her will. I ask her to send me her orders, which I shall faithfully execute, whatever they may be. I earnestly request her to have the goodness to give me them speedily, as Madame de Genlis will in all likelihood be soon forced to take a journey on her own private business.

"I hope that my dear aunt will have the goodness to excuse this long letter, and to receive kindly the assurance of the respect and attachment of her unfortunate niece, "ADELE d'ORLEANS"

"Bremgarten, April 3, 1794."

A strange report was circulated, that Madame de Genlis intended to retain Mademoiselle d'Orleans in spite of her family. So much importance was attached to this story that the ladies were placed under some restraint, and M. Deffenthaller was sent by the Duc de Bourbon to warn the Princess against the arts of her governess. It was, indeed, generally believed that Madame de Genlis had a principal share in engaging the Orleans family to adhere to the Revolution in its earlier stages; and as others attributed to her influence the unhappy disunion between the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, it was not unreasonable that her power over Mademoiselle should be viewed with suspicion. Justice to Madame de Genlis requires that we should insert the letter which the Princess wrote on this occasion to M. Deffenthaller.

"Bremgarten, May 7, 1794.

"SIR,—I am greatly astonished at all the questions you put to me, after the conversation I had with you on Saturday, for I told you plainly that I had earnestly requested the Princess of Conti, more than a month since, to receive me; that she had had the goodness to consent, and that I was waiting for Madame de Pont to take me to Friburg. My intentions are still the same. What you tell me, Sir, about what you call my *intimate friends*, is exceedingly unjust; it is by my own inclination, and the advice of the person who brought me up, that I formed the plan of placing myself under my aunt's protection. The delay that has occurred arises from the Princess of Conti. She sent me yesterday a letter written by Madame de Pont, informing me that some private arrangements of the Princess would defer her arrival here for the moment. I have her letter, my aunt's, and copies of all my own; so that it will be very easy for me to prove the truth of the facts I have mentioned. After all, Sir, I do not acknowledge any right over me in any of my relations but my brother and aunt. I can gratefully receive their advice, and I cannot believe that they ever authorised you, Sir, to write to me in such an unbecoming manner, and to excite the violent proceedings that have been adopted through your means. I demand your immediate disavowal of the past, or I shall carry elsewhere my loud complaints of your unjust violation of my personal rights; but I think, Sir, that one moment's reflection must convince you

of the injustice of your proceedings, and that you will hasten to repair it as far as lies in your power.

"ADELE D'ORLEANS."

Madame de Pons arrived soon after at Bremgarten, to take charge of Mademoiselle, and separate her definitively from Madame de Genlis. The parting was most affecting, for Adelaide had always regarded her governess as a second mother. After residing for three months with Madame de Pons in a village near the lake of Constance, during which period she accidentally learned the secret of her father's death, Mademoiselle was summoned to her aunt at Friburg. But so fierce still were the passions of the Emigrants against the Orleans family, that the Princess was forced to enter the town at night, and instead of being publicly received by her aunt, she was sent to a convent, where she remained strictly secluded for two years.

When the French armies under Massena invaded Switzerland, the Princess of Conti and her niece sought shelter at Landshut, in Bavaria. The subsequent progress of the Republican arms rendered this an unsafe place of residence; and they were forced to descend the Iser and the Danube on a frail raft. They chose Presburg, in Hungary, as their residence, and there they remained until the Princess Adelaide was summoned to join her mother in Spain, as has been narrated in a preceding chapter. After separating from her niece, the Princess of Conti

entered a convent in Venice, where she died, September 21st, 1803.

On leaving his sister at the convent of Bremgarten, the Duc de Chartres went to Bâle, where the exhausted state of his finances compelled him to sell all his horses but one, and to dismiss all his domestics, save the faithful Baudouin. The anecdotes preserved of this tour are fewer than might have been expected; had Louis-Philippe, like his brother Montpensier, kept a record of his sufferings, it would have been a work of the deepest interest.

During one of his adventurous excursions in the Alps, attended by his faithful servant, he ascended as far as the celebrated *hospice* of St. Gothard. Weary and footsore, he rang the bell, when one of the religious brotherhood presented himself, and asked what was wanting. "I want a little refreshment for myself and my companion," replied the Prince. "There is no admittance here for those who travel on foot, and for persons of your appearance," returned the monk, suspiciously viewing the strangers from the casement. "But, reverend father," continued the Prince, "we are willing and able to pay any price you please to demand!" "No, no," said the monk; "that ale-house will do for you," pointing with his finger to a shed where some Alpine muleteers were eating cheese, and slamming the window in the Prince's face.

At Gordona, on another occasion, his dress and want of luggage caused him to be refused hospitality,

as at St. Gothard. Night, however, was fast closing in, and the weather was most inclement; and the proprietors of the house where he made application, were with some difficulty persuaded to let him have a bed of straw in the barn. Worn down with fatigue, and inured to sleep even upon a harder couch, the wanderer joyfully accepted the permission. He continued in a profound slumber until break of day, when he was roused by the monotonous sound of a measured and heavy tread on the floor. On opening his eyes he was surprised to see a young man armed with a musket, guarding him as a sentinel. The Prince was perplexed by so strange an occurrence, and naturally sought an explanation. The peasant, with some hesitation, replied, "My aunt, who is very miserly and very suspicious, sent me here to watch you, with directions to shoot you at once if you got up with the intention of robbing us." Louis-Philippe indulged in a hearty fit of laughter at the thought of being mistaken for a robber; and, having relieved the alarm of the peasant, went to the house and paid for his humble bed, after which he resumed his travels.

On reaching the Lake of Lucerne, he met two Frenchmen, a priest and a shopkeeper, huckstering with a waterman about the fare for their passage. It appeared that the priest had no money; but the Prince, notwithstanding his own poverty at the time took compassion on the distress of the ecclesiastic, and paid his fare. During their passage the tradesman informed them that he was an optician in the Palais

Royal, had often sold spectacles to the Duke of Orleans, and was well acquainted both with him and the young Princes, his children; but the Duc de Chartres soon discovered that there was no danger of his being recognised by the optician, who was just as ignorant of his person as the hotel-keeper at Coblentz. The priest wanted his young friend to engage him as a chaplain, but the Prince candidly explained to him that the state of his finances rendered it difficult for him to keep even himself. They parted with mutual protestations of friendship.

During the course of his peregrinations, the Duc de Chartres had frequently met parties of the Emigrants most hostile to his family, and had escaped recognition principally by the poverty of his dress, and the absence of equipage. Still he was aware that a roving life must leave him continually exposed to the chances of detection, which the low state of his finances would probably increase. While he was at a loss to discover what it would be most prudent for him to do next, he received a letter from his friend, M. de Montesquiou, suggesting a plan which gave him a most valuable though temporary relief from his embarrassments. A gentleman named Chabot-Latour, had been invited from Paris to take a professorship in the College of Reichenau. He did not come to keep his engagement, and M. de Montesquiou applied to the chief director of the college, M. Aboys Just de St. Georges, whom he had known when an officer in the Swiss Guards, in the service of France, to allow the Prince to appear in

the name and place of the absent candidate. This proposal being accepted, the Prince presented himself for examination, and was unanimously elected, the highest commendation being bestowed upon the manner in which he had acquitted himself. He was then twenty-two years of age, and was allowed a salary of 1400 francs per annum, a larger salary than was then usual in Switzerland. In this situation the Prince remained about a year, giving lessons in history, geography, the mathematics, and the English language, without his rank being discovered or even suspected by any one. The Director, originally entrusted with the secret, was the sole person cognizant of the circumstance. This singular event in the varied life of Louis-Philippe was commemorated by a picture in the Gallery of the Palais Royal, representing the Prince giving a lecture on the use of the globes. The artist has imparted to his features an air of anxious melancholy, which, indeed, at this period of his life, was the habitual expression of his features.

While Louis-Philippe was thus employed at Reichenau, he received intelligence of the death of his unfortunate father, by which he became Duke of Orleans, then to all appearance nothing better than an empty title. In June, 1794, he was invited to join M. de Montesquiou at Bremgarten; and before quitting the college, he obtained a most honourable testimonial of his services, which he carefully preserved, and often shewed to his intimate friends after he became king.

Louis-Philippe, still under a false name, continued at Bremgarten, acting as aide-de-camp to the Marquis de Montesquiou for several months. In January, 1795, Madame de Montesquiou, received a visit from Madame de Flahaut, who had been driven from France by the Revolution. This lady had been a favourite with the Duchess of Orleans, and she no sooner became acquainted with the young Duke, than she resolved to make every exertion to relieve him from the embarrassing perplexities of his situation. She remembered that she had frequently met at the Palais Royal Mr. Gouverneur Morris, ambassador to France from the United States, at the commencement of the Revolution. He had previously, however, been first secretary of legation, and when in this capacity had formed an intimacy with Philippe Egalité, which even marked differences of political opinion did not prevent from ripening into friendship. He was at this period in Hamburgh, preparing to return to the United States when Madame de Flahaut, who had recently met him in London, sent him the following letter :—

"Bremgarten, Jan. 25, 1795.

"Sir,—I have met the young Duke of Orleans in Switzerland. He has had a serious quarrel with Madame de Genlis, of whom he had so much reason to complain. But do not repeat this, for if she knew that he had spoken about it, she would persecute him even in his retreat.

"Since he has quitted the army, his conduct towards

his mother has been perfect. When he reached the Austrian army with Dumouriez, both the Archduke Charles and the Prince of Coburg earnestly pressed him to enter into the service of the Emperor. He would have preserved his rank and appointments as a Lieutenant-General. Though without money, and not knowing what would become of him, he refused, saying that he would not expose his father, mother, and brothers to death, and besides that he would not bear arms against his country. He immediately set out accompanied by his aide-de-camp, and traversed Germany in a miserable gig. Finding that he was persecuted in Switzerland, both by the ultra-Aristocrats and ultra-Jacobins, he parted from his aide-de-camp followed by a single servant,—the same who had accompanied him at the time of his emigration, and who courageously gave his horse to Dumouriez. When the Prince and the General separated, the former wandered on foot through the mountains, not spending more than thirty sous per day on his food, lodging, and other necessaries.

"Finally, not having more in the world than thirty francs, he was forced to have recourse to M. de Montesquiou, who generously gave him assistance and procured him a situation as professor in a college. There he taught geography and the mathematics, without either the masters or the pupils discovering his real name and position. In this situation he was so beloved, that M. de Salis (a violent aristocrat, enjoying great influence in Switzerland, and

who would have caused him to be expelled, had he known who he was) offered him the post of tutor to his children. When I spoke to him of this humble employment, he told me that he would cheerfully have sacrificed his life for his mother and his brothers; and that, consequently, the more he concealed his own position from his enemies, the more would the safety of these beloved relatives be secured. I am convinced that they would have been massacred if he had acted otherwise. His manner of life resembles that of his illustrious ancestor Henry IV.: he is of a melancholy disposition, but gentle and modest. His whole ambition is to go to America, and there forget the greatness and the sufferings which have been the companions of his youth; but he does not possess a penny in the world. Could you not render him the double service of informing his mother of his noble conduct, and of his veneration for her? and then of informing him likewise if she has any means of subsistence, and where his brothers are? Could you, in fine, give him details which may concern them all? He remembers having seen you, and hopes that so good a friend to his mother will also become his.

"Do you know that Madame de Genlis is in Hamburgh with Madame de Valence and her niece?

(Signed) "COUNTESS DE FLAHAUT."

Morris replied that he was willing to do anything which might be of advantage to the Duke of Orleans;

that if the Prince persisted in his purpose of going to America, he would be delighted to receive him in Hamburgh, that he might embark with him, as he was himself on the point of returning to the United States after many years' absence. At the same time that he commissioned Madame de Flahaut to make these offers of service, he transmitted to her an order for one hundred pounds on the bank of Bâle, in order to defray the expenses of the Prince's journey to Hamburgh.

The Duke of Orleans then wrote to this kind friend:—

"Bremgarten, Feb. 25, 1795.

"SIR,—I accept with much pleasure the offers you make me. Your kindness is a benefit which I owe to my mother and our friend. I am sure that my excellent mother will be in some degree consoled and tranquillised when she learns that I am near you in your happy country. I am quite disposed to labour in order to make myself independent. Scarcely had I entered on life when the greatest misfortunes assailed me; but, thank God! they have not discouraged me. I feel it a great happiness in my reverses that my youth has not given me time to attach myself too much to my position, or to contract habits of life difficult to be broken, and that I have been deprived of my fortune before I was able to abuse, or even to use it.

"Our excellent friend, Madame de Flahaut, has informed you of my actual position, which is sufficiently

deplorable, but which I need not describe now, as she has already depicted it. I hope, my dear sir, that my confidence will give you a proof of the esteem and friendship with which you have inspired me.

(Signed) "LOUIS-PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

On the 10th of March the Prince quitted Bremgarten, accompanied by the faithful Baudouin and Colonel Montjoie, who insisted on seeing him embark. He travelled incognito through Germany, and arrived, without being recognised, at Hamburgh by the end of the month.

CHAPTER V

TRAVELS OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE.—HE VISITS THE DUCHIES OF HOLSTEIN AND SCHLESWICK, THE ISLAND OF ZEALAND, COPENHAGEN, ELSINORE.—HE PROCEEDS TO DENMARK AND THENCE TO SWEDEN.—HIS LETTER TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.—THE VIOLENT DEATHS OF CHARLES XII. AND GUSTAVUS XI.—OPINION OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE AS TO THEIR CAUSE.—HIS RESIDENCE IN NORWAY.—HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE KING OF SWEDEN AND THE REGENT.—LETTER FROM HIS MOTHER.—HIS REPLY.—HIS EMBARKATION FOR AMERICA.—HE REJOINS HIS BROTHERS.—THEIR RECEPTION BY WASHINGTON.—FIRMNESS OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE WITH A BAND OF INDIANS.—MR. ALEXANDER BARING.—LETTER OF THE DUC DE MONTPENSIER TO HIS SISTER.—WANDERINGS OF THE THREE BROTHERS.—THEIR HARDSHIPS AND ADVENTURES.—BANISHED FROM CUBA, THEY ARRIVE IN ENGLAND.—THEIR RECEPTION DESCRIBED BY LOUIS-PHILIPPE.—INTERVIEW WITH THE COUNT D'ARTOIS.—DEATH OF THE DUC DE MONTPENSIER.—HIS MONUMENT IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.—DEATH OF THE COUNT DE BEAUJOLAIS AT MALTA.

WHEN the Duke of Orleans reached Hamburgh, he learned that his friend Morris had been entrusted with a diplomatic mission in Germany, which would prevent his return to America for several months. The Prince resolved to wait for his friend; but as he was in constant danger of being discovered at Hamburgh, either by some of the Emigrants or by the agents of the French police, he determined, still preserving his incognito, to make a tour through Northern Europe, which at that time was almost unexplored by travellers.

The Duchies of Holstein and Schleswick, which now

engage so large a share of public attention, were then chiefly known by their historical traditions as the native country of the Cimbri, whose defeat by Marius turned back the first tide of invasion from imperial, even when republican, Rome, and of the Angles, who have given their name to southern Britain, Angle-land, or England. Many years after his tour, Louis-Philippe described his surprise at the little similarity in language and legendary lore between this cradle of the English race and England itself. He was disposed to believe that the most marked traces of identity had been swept away by the Norman Conquest; and it has been said that he began a dissertation on the subject, which, unfortunately, he never completed.

Passing over from Jutland to the Island of Zealand, he went to Copenhagen, where he had a letter of credit on a banker, to whom he was introduced as a Swiss merchant. The banker, believing him to be really a Swiss, and interested by the remarkable thirst for knowledge he displayed, procured him a royal order, authorizing him to visit every part of the kingdom.

Elsinore, which Shakspeare has rendered classical as the residence of Hamlet, was one of the first places he visited; and we have been informed that, in a recent representation on the French stage of the great tragedy we have referred to, Louis-Philippe took an active part in procuring an accurate delineation of the scenery. Cronenberg Castle, where the unhappy Queen Matilda-Caroline of Brunswick had been con-

fined, next engaged his attention; he inquired curiously into the details of the charges made against this unhappy Princess and her favourite Struensee, and was led to the conclusion that her guilt was not proved, though her innocence may have been doubtful.

From Denmark he crossed over to Sweden in a fishing-boat, and landed at Helsinbourg on the 6th of May. Thence, following the coast-line, he pursued his way to Gottenburg, from which place he wrote the subjoined letter to Gouverneur Morris :—

"Gottenburg, May 15, 1795.

"SIR,—You will see, by the place from which I date my letter, that I have been unable to resist the temptation of visiting Sweden. It was not easy to pass by this kingdom without wishing to enter it, and I do not repent of what I have done; for, in a commercial point of view, this city deserves the attention of a stranger.

"I felt much joy at receiving on my arrival a short note from my mother, which she sent me by the agency of a French priest, a refugee in Switzerland, of whom I think I have spoken to you. She availed herself of the same opportunity to write a charming letter to my sister, a copy of which has been sent me. This clergyman has communicated to me at the same time that my mother's health is greatly improved. Pardon these details, I beseech you; I only mention them because I know the attention you bestow on everything that concerns my

honoured mother. Believe me, my dear sir, it is impossible to feel more deeply than I do the interest you are so kind as to take in my fortunes, and I beseech you to receive my assurances of the ardent and sincere affection with which you have inspired me.

(Signed) "LOUIS-PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

All the intimate friends of Louis-Philippe declare that his reminiscences of Northern Europe were most lively, and the descriptions he gave of them most graphic; but the published accounts contain less than the information of ordinary guide-books. We are told that he admired the scenery of Lake Wener (and who would not?); that he was deeply impressed by the waterfall of Goetha-Elf; and that he valued, at a much higher rate than we do, the works undertaken at Trollhæthan, some two centuries ago, for the purpose of uniting the Gulf of Bothnia with the North Sea.

From Sweden Louis-Philippe passed into Norway, making his first halt at the fortress of Fredericshall, the scene of the death, or murder, of Sweden's Quixotic monarch, Charles XII. If we could be sure that the speculations of Tournois and Boutmy on this point were suggested, however indirectly, by Louis-Philippe himself, we should be tempted to examine their validity; but we have reason to know that the Prince bestowed upon the subject nothing more than the attention of an ordinary traveller: his opinion was once sought in a literary company, and he declared that he had never examined into the matter. This oc-

curred in the year 1829, a few months before he came to the throne.

After his election to a revolutionary throne, and when his own life was menaced by frequent attempts at assassination, Louis-Philippe exhibited a great anxiety to learn the circumstances of the deaths of Charles XII. and Gustavus XI.; or, as he called them, the tragedies of Fredericshall and Stockholm. He was convinced that both were the results of aristocratic conspiracies; and hence, until the very day of his expulsion from Paris, he believed himself in infinitely more danger from the Faubourg St. Germaine than from the Faubourg St. Antoine.

Travellers in those days were rare in Norway. A foreigner of attainments and research was sure to be a welcome visitor wherever he appeared. Though his name and rank were unknown, his intelligence and his enlightened inquisitiveness were his best passports to society, and some of those whom he casually met at Christiana were surprised when, visiting Paris some thirty years after, to find that the unpretending Corby (such was his travelling name) was no other than the first Prince of the Blood. M. Boutmy relates an anecdote of the Prince's residence at Christiana, which we quote in the words of his translator, though we have some doubts as to its authenticity :—

"The Duke of Orleans lived at Christiana tranquilly and unknown, happy to escape from the suspicions and *surveillance* which so often followed him in his exile. One day he thought he was recognized.

According to the established custom in some families, after breakfasting in town, they went to spend the day in the country. Immediately on his return, he heard the son of a banker, at whose house he was staying, cry out in a loud voice, 'The Duke of Orleans's carriage!' He could not help being startled. How was he to explain this singular incident, unless by the fact of believing himself to have been discovered? However, the young Norwegian did not happen to perceive the anxiety which he caused to his guest. He neither suspected, in fact, the received acceptation of the words at the moment, nor the recollections awakened by them. The exclamation which the prince heard with so much surprise, was only a reminiscence of the cry raised in Paris on leaving the Opera. It had more than once been stupidly raised, and, instead of simply calling for a carriage, it was one of the first of those cries that suggested themselves to the mind from a mere freak."

From Christiana he went to Drontheim, where he spent some days with the governor, and made excursions to the iron and copper mines in the Dofrafeld mountains. Wood and metals are the only wealth in these inhospitable regions; but nowhere are forests and mines so admirably administered. The information he acquired during his visit proved subsequently of great value when he recovered the ancient possessions of the House of Orleans in France.

Having penetrated so far, the Prince resolved to visit the North Cape, the extremity of Europe, which, passing beyond the Arctic circle, exhibits the phenomenon of sunlight for several days together. Such a journey presented considerable difficulties. The land is arid and almost a desert; the traveller is obliged to use frail boats, which coast by rocks destitute of vegetation, and occasionally passing hamlets of Lapland fishermen, unable to supply any of the comforts, much less the luxuries of life, with which they are wholly unacquainted. Having seen the wonders of the Maelstrom, investigated the state of the fisheries, and advanced about three degrees beyond the Arctic circle, he paused for a time to rest at Mersfeldt. For an interesting anecdote connected with this visit, we must again be indebted to M. Boutmy.

"The arrival of a Frenchman was quite an event in these countries. The Prince was received by a Lutheran minister, M. Ozemhoff, who had resided for some time here, a solitary sample perhaps of a country which had never before witnessed so striking an instance of human vicissitudes. Forty years afterwards, the obscure and poor guest of these remote colonists, being then King of the French, sent to Mersfeldt as a memorial of his grateful sense of the reception he had met with there, a clock so constructed as to defy the cold of these icy latitudes."

On his return southwards, he had to traverse on

foot the desert which separates the Northern Ocean from the river Tornea; this journey occupied fifteen days, during which time it was impossible to procure any other nourishment than the milk and flesh of the rein-deer. After having descended the river Tornea to the town of the same name, Louis-Philippe made a short visit to Finland, which had recently been the theatre of war between the Swedes and the Russians. It was rather a dangerous soil for a member of the House of Orleans to tread; the Empress of Russia, Catherine II., had adopted all the passions of the Emigration, and, had it been in her power, would have consigned to a dungeon, or sent to Siberia, a Prince who had taken an active and popular part in the early stages of the Revolution. He therefore soon quitted Finland, and crossing a dangerous sea in a perilous season, arrived at Stockholm.

Eight or ten days after his arrival, the Prince deemed it advisable to communicate his secret to the Count de Sparre, Chancellor of Sweden; and at the same time to inform him of the reasons he had to shun recognition. The Chancellor replied in the most courteous terms, and offered, without compromising his incognito, to procure him a private interview with Gustavus IV., King of Sweden, and the Regent, the Duke of Sundermania. But the King and the Regent had already invited the illustrious exile to visit them. They received him in the Regent's private apartments, offered him an appointment in

the Swedish army, or any sum of money which he might deem necessary, and gave him authority to visit everything likely to attract the notice of a traveller, not only in Stockholm, but throughout the kingdom of Sweden. But what the Prince feared soon happened; he was recognised at a ball by the French envoy and some other persons; and the fact of his presence became known throughout the capital. To escape from the annoyances to which he thus became exposed, he resolved to resume his travels.

After leaving Stockholm, Louis-Philippe visited the mines of Dalecarlia, where Gustavus Vasa had found shelter after his escape from the prisons of Denmark, and where he organised the revolt which established the independence of Sweden. The Prince visited the principal mines and foundries in this interesting district, after which he examined the great naval arsenal at Carlscrona, and then passing rapidly through Denmark, secluded himself in the little town of Fredericstadt in Holstein, where he intended provisionally to establish his residence.

The Prince lived undiscovered in Fredericstadt for about seven months; but at length the place of his retreat was discovered by the Executive Directory, who forwarded to him the following letter from his mother, and a message, declaring that his brothers would be restored to liberty on condition of his quitting Europe.

"Paris, May 27, 1796.

"My dear Son, — The painful events which have accumulated on the head of your unhappy mother, from the moment she had the misfortune of being deprived of the power of communicating with you, have completed the ruin of her health, and have at the same time rendered her more sensitive to every thing which relates to the objects of her affection. Her country and her children have long been to her the source of great and increasing anxieties, in which you will not be contented with merely participating, when you are informed that it is in your power to alleviate them materially, even in the midst of your misfortunes. The interest of your country and of your family requires that you should interpose the barrier of an ocean between us. I am persuaded that you will not hesitate to give them this proof of your attachment, especially when you learn that your brothers, so long detained in prison at Marseilles, are on the point of sailing for Philadelphia, where the French Government will secure them the means of living in a suitable manner. As misfortune must have matured my son's natural strength of mind, he will not refuse to a fond mother the consolation of knowing that he is near his brothers. If the idea of our separation is distracting to my mind, that of your union will assuage its bitterness.

"May the prospect of relieving the sufferings of your poor mother, of rendering the situation of your

family less painful, of contributing to restore the tranquillity of your country — may this prospect exalt your generosity and sustain your loyalty! You have not forgotten, my well-beloved, that the tender affection of your poor mother has no need of being justified by any new exertions on your part. Heaven grant that I may soon learn that my Charles and my Anthony may soon embrace their friend and brother, and that their mother may receive in them the demonstrations and proofs of the sentiments of her sons. Reach Philadelphia at the same time with them, or sooner if you can. The French minister at Hamburgh will facilitate your passage; — at all events, let him know of your intentions. Alas! how I desire to come to you myself, and to press against this distracted bosom the son who will not refuse to his affectionate mother the relief which she solicits.

"If this letter reaches my well-beloved, I hope he will not delay his answer to his anxious mother, and that he will hasten to give her the consolation of hearing some news of him. You must take care to address your letter, under cover, to the Chief Minister of Police to the Republic at Paris.

"P. S. I flatter myself that in about three months, in spite of the impossibilities which have long prevented my writing, you will have learned the extreme desire of your mother to know that you are far removed from all intriguers and all intrigues, which she cannot too strenuously recommend you to avoid.

(Signed) "L. M. A. DE BOURBON."

The Duke of Orleans replied in these terms:—

"Frederickstadt, August 15th, 1796.

"MY DEAR MAMMA,—I received with joy and tender feeling the letter you wrote to me from Paris, on the 27th of May, and which the Minister of the Republic to the Hanseatic Towns has forwarded to me by order of the Executive Directory. In conformity with your directions, I address this letter to you, under cover to the Minister of General Police.

"When my affectionate mother shall have received this letter, her orders will already have been obeyed; I shall be on my way to America. When I acknowledged to the French minister at Bremen the receipt of your letter, and of his in which it was enclosed, I thought that I could ask him (in conformity with what you had told me he had confirmed) to furnish me with the passports necessary to the security of my route. So soon as I receive them I shall embark on board the first vessel that sails for the United States.

"Assuredly, even if I had any repugnance to the voyage which you desire me to undertake, I would not the less make all the haste in my power to comply with your wishes; but the plan you propose is that which I always was anxious to adopt; and now I only accelerate the execution of a project on which my mind was previously made up and determined. Indeed I should have set out long ago had I not been constantly delayed by a series of unfortunate and whimsical circumstances. I need not, however, trouble you

with the painful and useless details. I hoped in a short time that all the obstacles which impeded me would be removed; but there is not one that your letter has not destroyed. I am going to set out without any further delay. Oh! what would I not be ready to do after such a letter as the one I have received? I no longer believe that happiness is irretrievably lost to me, since I have still the power of alleviating the sufferings of a beloved mother, whose position and whose calamities have long distracted my heart. I dare not inquire whether I may retain the hope of seeing you again some day. But shall I then be denied the consolation of seeing from time to time some lines of your writings, and learning something of your condition?

"It seems to me as a dream when I think that in a short time I shall embrace my brothers and be united to them again. I am in such a state that I can hardly bring myself to believe what I had so long regarded as impossible. It is not, however, that I mean to complain of my destiny; I feel too deeply how much more horrible it might have been. Even now I shall cease to believe it unfortunate if, after having rejoined my brothers, I learn that my poor dear mamma is as well as she can be under existing circumstances, and that I have still been able once more to serve my country by contributing to its tranquillity, and consequently to its happiness. The sacrifices I have already made for my country have caused me some exertion of my fortitude; but so long as

I live there are none which I shall not be ready to make.

"It is impossible for me, as I am writing to my dear mamma, not to seize this opportunity of telling her, that for a very long time I have ceased to have any relations with Madame de Genlis. She has just printed at Hamburgh a letter addressed to me, accompanied by a *précis* (and a most inaccurate one) of her conduct during the Revolution, and in which she does not even respect the memory of my unfortunate father. I certainly do not reckon upon answering the letter which she has addressed me; but I think it my duty to set forth in their integrity, the facts which she has partially distorted and misrepresented. I shall have this little pamphlet printed in Hamburgh, and I will take care to have a copy forwarded to the Minister of Police, hoping that he will have the kindness to transmit it to you. Adieu, my dear mamma! nothing can equal the joy which I have felt in once more seeing your hand-writing after having been so long deprived of that pleasure. May I soon hear that your health is improved, and know all about you. Be very careful of that health which is so precious to us all, if not for your own sake, at least for that of your children. Adieu! Your son embraces you with his whole heart: believe that it gives him great happiness once more to manifest his filial obedience.

(Signed) "LOUIS-PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

A month after, on the 15th of September, the

Duke wrote again to his mother, through the same hands, on board the *America*, in the port of Hamburgh.

"My Dear Mamma,—Your orders would have been long since obeyed, and I should have been on my way to Hamburgh, but for the prevailing westerly winds which have hindered us from getting out of the Elbe. As it will be impossible for me to write at the instant of setting sail, I shall leave this letter with a merchant in Hamburgh, who will take charge of it and add the date of the departure of the *America*. I am on board an excellent American vessel, copper-bottomed and copper-fastened, and admirably fitted up in her interior arrangements. The captain is a very worthy man, and keeps an excellent table. Have no uneasiness about my voyage, my dear mamma. The French minister has given me the passports for which I asked him: he has even had the friendly attention to add a letter of introduction to the Minister of the Republic in the United States. Thus you may be perfectly tranquil in all respects. It grieves me much to have heard as yet no news of my brothers, of whom I have been deprived for so long a time. The gazettes not having announced their departure, I fear it may not yet have taken place: I am waiting for the news with the most lively impatience.

"You will find, added to this letter, a copy of the little piece which I mentioned in my former letter.

"Adieu, my dear mamma! Your son cherishes your image and embraces you with his whole heart.

It is, also, with his whole heart that he prays that the voyage he is undertaking may have the effects you expect from it, and may finally ameliorate the cruel position of his relatives, which has long pressed so heavily on his heart.

(Signed) "LOUIS-PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

The *America* finally sailed from the Elbe on the 24th of September, 1796. On the 27th she was stopped by a French privateer, near the entrance of the British Channel,—an incident which has furnished a subject for an admirable picture, now in the gallery of the Palais Royal. The Duke of Orleans, whom all on board supposed to be a Dane, was sitting on the deck conversing with a French emigrant, when the privateer approached. The latter was greatly alarmed and ran to hide himself in the hold, saying to the Duke of Orleans, who wished to detain him, "In good faith, sir, if you were a Frenchman, as I am, you would not be so much at your ease at this moment." The officers of the privateer boarded the *America;* but they withdrew when they found, on examining her papers, that she was bound from Hamburgh to Philadelphia,—that is, from one neutral port to another. The Duke then went to seek for the poor emigrant, whom he found concealing himself under the bales of merchandise. When the Duke told him that all danger was over, he danced for joy, exclaiming, "So they are gone! The devil go with them, they gave me a fine shaking!"

On the 24th of October the vessel arrived at Philadelphia, without any other incident; and the passengers then learned, for the first time, that the Duke of Orleans had been the companion of their voyage by seeing him assume the tricoloured cockade. He deposited at the French Legation a copy of the order of arrest which had induced him to quit the army of the North, a full account of his military services, and a statement of all his political actions. He took this precaution by the desire of his mother, to shew that he had not participated in the projects of Dumouriez.

The Duc de Montpensier and the Count de Beaujolais did not reach Philadelphia until the 7th of February, 1797. As the river Delaware was blocked up with ice, they landed at Marcushook and proceeded to the city by land, during a severe snow-storm, but were rewarded for their toils by being once more united to a beloved elder brother, from whom they had so long been separated. Louis-Philippe projected an extensive tour through the territories of the States, at that time far less populous and less provided with accommodation for travellers than they are at present. The Princes were presented to General Washington, then in the last year of his presidency, and witnessed the interesting spectacle of his last Address to Congress, and the installation of his successor, John Quincy Adams.

The General invited them to pay him a visit in his retreat at Mount Vernon,—an invitation which was

eagerly accepted. They remained for several days with the illustrious patriot, who aided them in laying out the itinerary of their purposed tour, and conversed freely with them on the condition of their native land. It was the opinion of Washington,—and, indeed, of nearly all the American statesmen,—that a Republican form of government is only suited to a new country, and that a restoration of monarchy was inevitable in France.

Louis-Philippe took great pleasure in speaking of his travels in America, after his accession to the throne. He shewed an American gentleman the map on which his itinerary was traced, and related several anecdotes of the places at which he had stopped. On one occasion, the illness of the Count de Beaujolais compelled them to halt for some time at Bairdstown, where they were kindly treated. In remembrance of the hospitality he received, Louis-Philippe, after his accession to the throne of France, presented a handsome clock to the cathedral of the town.

At Buffalo, on the shores of Lake Erie, they met a tribe of the Seneca Indians, and were much interested by observing their domestic manners, sports, and exercises. An anecdote of the intercourse between the Princes and these Indians, related by M. Boutmy, deserves to be extracted :—

"The little band of Indians did not leave the Princes for four days, and then they were hardly out of sight when Count de Beaujolais, perceiving he was not followed by a dog to which he was very much

attached, said, 'I am convinced he has been drawn away by one of our guests, and that they have stolen him.' 'Very well!' replied the Duke of Orleans, 'if they have stolen him they must give him back.' 'Do you think so, brother?' asked the Count; 'we are only four against the whole tribe.' 'True,' continued the eldest of the brothers, 'they have superior force, but we have right and justice.' Then promptly turning back he followed the Indians, and on coming up to them addressed himself to their chief, unaccompanied by any one. So determined and authoritative were his words and looks that the dog was immediately restored. 'Alas!' said the Count de Beaujolais, with a smile, 'I know a country where, despite of the code designed to maintain the rights of man, all the eloquence of my brother would not so easily gain his cause in pleading respect for property.'"

Shortly after leaving Buffalo, the Princes met an English merchant, Mr. Alexander Baring (afterwards Lord Ashburton), in whose company they travelled for some days. They parted from him to visit the great American lakes and the Falls of Niagara, after which they returned to Philadelphia. The following letter, addressed by the Duc de Montpensier to his sister, will be read with interest;—

"Philadelphia, Aug. 14, 1797.

"MY DEAR SISTER,—I hope you have received the letters which we wrote to you from Pittsburg about two months ago. We were then in the midst of an extensive tour, from which we returned a fortnight

since. It lasted four months, during which time we traversed a thousand leagues, and always on the same horses, except the last hundred leagues, which we travelled partly by water, partly on foot, partly on hired horses, and partly in stage-coaches. We met several savage tribes in the course of our peregrinations, and even remained for some days in their country: they are in general the best people in the world, except when they are drunk or excited to anger. They received us with wonderful kindness, and our character of Frenchmen greatly contributed to this good reception, for they are very warmly attached to our nation. The most interesting spectacle we saw was, beyond doubt, the Falls of Niagara, towards which we were about to direct our course when I wrote to you from Pittsburg: it is the most imposing and majestic spectacle that I ever saw. Its height is one hundred and thirty-seven feet; the volume of water is immense, for the great river St. Lawrence precipitates itself here with its whole collected force. I have taken a sketch of it, and intend to make a drawing in water-colours, which my dear little sister will assuredly transmit to our beloved mother: but it is not yet begun, and it will take me a considerable time, for in truth it is no trifling undertaking.

"To give you some idea of the agreeable manner in which persons travel in this country, I must tell you, my dear sister, that we passed fourteen nights in the woods, devoured by all sorts of insects, often wet to the skin without having the power of drying ourselves;

and being able to obtain no other food but pork, or a little salt beef and bread made of Indian corn. In addition to all this, we slept more than fifty nights in wretched huts, where we were obliged to rest on wooden benches composed of rough and irregular planks, — to say nothing of the bad tempers and grumblings of the inhabitants, who often shut their doors in our faces, even when the accommodations were of the most wretched description. Never, I declare, would I recommend such a journey to anybody. Still we are far from repenting what we have done, since we have all three brought back with us excellent health and a considerable addition to our stock of knowledge.

"Adieu, my very dear and well-beloved sister; receive the embraces of three brothers, whose thoughts are continually with you.

(Signed.) "ANTOINE-PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

About this time, Philadelphia was ravaged by yellow fever, and the Princes were detained for several weeks in this "city of the plague," for want of pecuniary means. At length, having received a small supply of money from their mother, who had recently recovered a portion of her property, they set out for the States of New England, in the month of September.

In the Vindication of the Duke of Orleans (Egalité) published, as we have already stated, under the superintendence of the Duchess, we find the following narrative of these wanderings of the Princes.

"The Princes remained three weeks at New York before they could go to Providence by Newport, two large towns in the State of Rhode Island. This voyage lasted little more than thirty hours, though the distance was eighty leagues. Thence they proceeded overland to Boston, the capital of the State of Massachusetts, where they remained for a fortnight. Wishing to take advantage of the rest of the autumnal season to see the States of New Hampshire and Maine, the most northern parts of New England, they crossed over to Newbury Port, Portsmouth, and Portland, stopping but a short time in each town. The cold weather having set in very severely, they turned back southwards and reached Boston by the road they had already travelled. There they learned from the journals, that their mother had been sentenced to *deportation*. It is easy to imagine the effect which this intelligence produced on such affectionate sons. They supposed it probable that she would be sent to the French colony in Cayenne; and they resolved, if possible, to arrive there before her. They immediately proceeded to Connecticut, by Philadelphia and New York. On their way, they learned that the Duchess had been sent to Spain, and they continued their journey in the hope of rejoining her. Circumstances boding them to fear that it would not be prudent to attempt a direct voyage to Europe, the Princes resolved to remove into some part of the territories of Spain, near the United States. They selected the

Havannah, and made the necessary arrangements with the Spanish minister at Philadelphia. Winter having set in very severely, the ice on the Delaware rendered the navigation of that river impossible. They then proposed to go to Charlestown, the port of which is never closed, like those in the more northern parts of America. But the neutrality of the United States becoming very suspicious, they were induced to abandon this place. The surest and most expeditious way under such circumstances, was to penetrate into the West, and to go down to New Orleans by the Ohio and the Mississippi. Neither the excessive severity of the season, nor the fatigue of travelling more than a thousand leagues through the most difficult country deterred them. They started from Philadelphia on the 10th of December, 1797. Although Pittsburg, which lies to the west of Philadelphia, is in a lower latitude than any part of France, yet the mountains were covered with snow, the roads were almost impassable, and they found some difficulty in crossing the Chesapeak. Under those circumstances, it took them seventeen days to perform a journey of one hundred leagues. The rivers Alleghany and Monongahela, which by their union at Pittsburg, form the Ohio, being frozen over, they were detained a week waiting for a thaw; they were, however, consoled by the polite attention of General Wilkinson, commander-in-chief of the American army, whose head-quarters were at Pittsburg.

"They embarked on the Ohio, January 3rd, 1798, The frost returned three days after, and the navigation was interrupted: it was indeed often interrupted, and the course of the Ohio being then almost through a desert" (since changed into a populous and thriving territory), "to the accidents and dangers arising from currents, rapids, and ice, were added great difficulties in procuring food. The frost was so severe, that the cider and milk were congealed in the cabin of the boat, though it was heated by a large fire, and by the presence of seven or eight passengers. Four of the boatmen having been overcome by fatigue, the Princes were often obliged to row and work the vessel at the most dangerous points. The banks of the river then presented no landscape but immense forests, in some places extending seventy or eighty leagues without interruption. The voyage became still more painful during a course of one hundred leagues, from the Falls of the Ohio, near Louisville, county of Jefferson, at the western extremity of Virginia, to Fort Mansac, near the point where the Ohio falls into the Mississippi, at the western extremity of Virginia. The noble travellers had no boatman who knew the river, or even understood how to steer the vessel; thus they had to keep watch themselves both by night and by day, in spite of the cold. There were some entire days when the river was so covered with ice that they were constantly exposed to the greatest dangers. Finally, having reached Mansac, an Ame-

rican garrison, they landed to obtain some venison from an Indian camp in the neighbourhood. At last they found a good boatman, without whose aid they could not have descended the Mississippi. They had still five hundred leagues to travel before they could arrive at New Orleans. They entered the Mississippi near Fort Jefferson, at the end of January, and only stopped half a day at New Madrid, the first Spanish post. The rapidity of the stream led them to hope that their voyage would not be long; and the weather becoming more mild, caused them to fear the breaking up of the ice in the northern part of the river, which was quite frozen over, though more than a league in breadth. Under such circumstances, it was clear they had no time to lose. From New Madrid to Natchez, that is to say, along a line of three hundred leagues, they only met three habitations. The rapidity of the stream, and the number of uprooted trees which it brought down, constrained the Princes to discontinue their voyage on the approach of night. Below the post of Bôton Rouge, which is lower down than Natchez, the navigation becomes far less dangerous, and the banks of the river are covered with habitations, almost without interruption down to New Orleans.

"The inhabitants of New Orleans were at that time nearly all of French descent, sprung for the most part from those who had emigrated at the time of the Regency. They shewed all possible respect to the

descendants of that great statesman. The Princes, who reached that city on the 17th of February remained there about six weeks, waiting for a Spanish corvette from the Havannah. But the communications from New Orleans with Spain were less frequent than those from the Havannah; they resolved, therefore, to go to Cuba, sacrificing the pleasures of New Orleans to their desire of receiving more promptly news from their mother, and communicating to her the history of their travels."

Those who now traverse the Ohio and the Mississippi in the finest steamers in the world, will read with amazement this narrative of the difficulties and dangers which travellers had to encounter on these rivers within the memory of living man. The Duc de Montpensier painted some of the most impressive scenery in water-colours, and these performances were added to the collection of pictures in the gallery of the Palais Royal, where probably they may still be seen.

The Princes embarked for Cuba on board an American vessel under the Spanish flag. In the Gulf of Mexico this ship was taken by an English frigate, commanded by Captain Cochrane, now the Earl of Dundonald, who, when he learned the names of the passengers, insisted on conveying them to Cuba in his own vessel.

The Duchess of Orleans vainly sought permission for her children to join her in Spain. When this was refused, she asked for a sum of money to be

advanced to them, and that they should be allowed to travel through Spanish America. In reply the Spanish minister addressed the following letter to the Captain-General of Cuba :—

"Aranjuez, May 21, 1798.

"RIGHT EXCELLENT LORD,—The Count de Froberg, acting in the name of the Princes of Orleans, at present in your island, has solicited pecuniary aid for them, with permission to travel through his Majesty's dominions in the Americas. But his Majesty has been obliged to reject the first demand, owing to the state of his finances, and also to refuse the second from certain just and grave considerations. He has charged me to inform you that he does not wish the said Princes to remain at the Havannah, nor in any other part of the Spanish dominions in the New World, except Louisiana.* I hasten to give your Excellency this information that, knowing the wishes of the King, you may at once accomplish them.

"May God preserve your Excellency many years.

(Signed) "MARIE-ANNE-LOUIS DE URQUIJO."

Banished from Cuba, the Princes resolved to seek shelter in a British colony. They proceeded to the Bahamas and thence to Halifax where they were most

* Louisiana at that time belonged to Spain, having been given up to that power by France in 1763. It was restored in 1801, but was sold to the United States, April 30th, 1803. It was admitted a State of the American Union in 1811.

kindly received by his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, father of her present Majesty, then Governor of Nova Scotia. He did not, however, venture to send them to England on his own responsibility, but he wrote to prepare the Government for their arrival, and aided in procuring them a passage in the packet-boat from New York to Falmouth. They reached London February 15th, 1800.

We shall extract the letter addressed by the Duke of Orleans to Governor Morris, giving an account of his reception.

"London, March 5, 1800.

"DEAR SIR,—I have been here more than three weeks, and I regret that I could not write to you sooner. I seized the first opportunity which offered, and wrote to you from Falmouth, by the packet-boat: I hope that you have received my letter.

"Everything has turned out prosperously here, and we have received from the public as good a reception as we could reasonably hope. We had a private audience of the King and Queen; it lasted very long, and their Majesties loaded us with kindness.

"We often see *Monsieur*, the Count d'Artois (Charles X.), who has been extremely kind to us. He has been pleased to undertake to transmit to the King (Louis XVIII.) a letter, in which we request him to accept our loyal homage. I repeat that everything has gone on as favourably as we could desire. We have read many stories on the subject in the newspapers;

I trust that you give no credit to them, and that you know me well enough to be convinced, without my having need to tell you, that I have never ceased to display a suitable frankness and dignity in my conduct. It is, therefore, useless to dwell any farther on this matter.

"I cannot tell you what we shall do next. That all depends, above everything, on the news which we receive from my mother. I have had no recent news, and the last was not very agreeable; however, she is in good health. I can hardly find time to finish my letter, and to write to you as minutely as I could wish; but my friend M—— will be able to inform you of all the circumstances. My time is absorbed in visiting and receiving visits: dinner-parties and correspondence seem to have no end.

"Adieu; you know my friendship for you. I will write you a long letter some future day.

"My brothers desire to be remembered.

"My compliments to Mr. Law and family.

(Signed) "LOUIS-PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

The interview with the Count d'Artois seemed to be a cordial reconciliation of the two branches of the House of Bourbon. *Monsieur* pressed the Duke of Orleans to join the army of the Emigration; but he steadily refused, and his refusal was approved by the leading statesmen of all parties in England. Partly to escape from further solicitation, but principally to join their mother, from whom they had been so long

separated, the Princes obtained a passage in an English frigate to Minorca, and thence they proceeded in a Spanish ship to Barcelona; but they were not permitted to land, and their mother was not even informed of their arrival in the harbour.

There is every reason to believe that this disgraceful proceeding on the part of the Court of Madrid, was dictated by Napoleon, who was, at this period, silently preparing his way to the Empire. Bourrienne preserves a note which Napoleon made at this time, upon a list of candidates for the Prefecture of Police in Paris.

"In choosing among the men who were members of the Constituent Assembly, it is necessary to be on your guard against the Orleans party, which is not altogether a chimera, and may one day prove dangerous.

"There is no doubt that the partisans of that family are intriguing secretly; and among many other proofs of this fact the following is a striking one. The journal called the *Aristarque* which undisguisedly supports Royalism, is conducted by a man of the name of Voidel, one of the hottest patriots of the Revolution. He was for several months President of the Commission of Inquiry, which caused the Marquis de Favras to be arrested and hanged, and which gave so much uneasiness to the Court. There was no one in the Constituent Assembly more hateful to the Court than Voidel, as much on account of his violence as from his connexion with the Duke of Orleans, whose advocate and counsel he was.

"When the Duke of Orleans was arrested, Voidel, braving the fury of the revolutionary tribunals, had the courage to defend him, and placarded all the walls of Paris with an apology for the Duke and his two sons. This man, now writing in favour of Royalism, can have no other object than to advance a member of the Orleans family to the throne."

Having been refused admission into Spain, the Princes returned to England, residing in a mansion on the banks of the Thames, at Twickenham. Louis-Philippe devoted much of his time to the study of English history, literature, and politics; the Duc de Montpensier indulged his taste for the fine arts; while the Count de Beaujolais endeavoured to remedy the defects of his early education. But the two younger Princes had never thoroughly recovered the injury which their health had sustained in the prisons of Marseilles. The Duc de Montpensier died of consumption in the arms of his brothers, May 18, 1807.* Scarcely had he

* He was interred in Westminster Abbey, where, during his visit to England in 1829, the Duke of Orleans caused the simple marble which had previously marked his tomb to be replaced by a monument more suited to his rank, and on which is inscribed the following epitaph, the joint production of Louis-Philippe and General Dumouriez, in 1807.

Princeps illustrissimus et serenissimus

ANTONIUS-PHILIPPUS, DUX DE MONTPENSIER,

Regibus oriundus;
Ducis Aurelianensis filius natu secundus;
A tenera juventute

thus sunk into the grave when the Count de Beaujolais was attacked by the same disease. The physicians recommended that he should be removed at once to the warmer climates of southern Europe. He refused to go unless accompanied by his brother, and the two Princes sailed for Malta. At first Beaujolais seemed likely to recover; but he soon relapsed, and died at Valetta, May 30, 1808. At the moment of his death, Louis-Philippe had not the means of interring the Prince with the honours due to his rank; but in 1818 his remains were deposited in a splendid mausoleum, erected in the Cathedral of La Valette. Thus, these two Princes died prematurely, without being able to gratify their eager desire of seeing once more their mother and their country.

In armis strenuus,
In vinculis indomitus,
In adversis rebus non fractus,
In secundis non elatus;
Artium liberalium cultor assiduus,
Urbanus, jucundus, omnibus comis
Fratribus, propinquis, amicis, patriæ
Nunquam non deflendus,
Utcunque fortunæ vicissitudines
Expertus;
Liberali tamen Anglorum hospitalitate
exceptus,
Hoc demum in regum asylo
Requiescit.
Nat. III. Julii M.DCC.LXXV.
Ob. XVIII. Maii MD.CCC. VII. ætat. XXX.
In memoriam fratris dilectissimi
Ludovicus-Philippus, Dux Aurelianensis,
Hoc marmor posuit.

Beaujolais was of a more adventurous character than either of his brothers. Hearing that an English brig was about to be sent to reconnoitre the camp which Napoleon had formed at Boulogne, he went on board of her, declaring that he cheerfully risked death or captivity to obtain once more a glimpse of his native land. He returned from the expedition in safety. The adventure was noised abroad, and gave rise to a report that the Orleans Princes had spent several days in the camp at Boulogne.

Montpensier's talents as an artist have been already noticed. A picture, which he painted and presented as a token of gratitude for the uniform kindness shewn

TRANSLATION.

The most illustrious and serene Prince,
ANTONY-PHILIPPE, DUKE OF MONTPENSIER,
The descendant of kings;
Second son of the Duke of Orleans;
Gallant in war from a tender age,
In chains unsubdued,
In adversity undepressed,
In prosperity unelated;
Diligent in cultivating the liberal arts,
Polite, agreeable, courteous to all persons,
Ever to be deplored by his brothers,
relations, friends, and country;
Having experienced *all* vicissitudes of fortune,
Yet after being received with liberal hospitality
by the people of England;
He at last reposes in this asylum of kings.
Born, July 3rd, 1775. Died, May 18th, 1807, aged 30.
Louis-Philippe, Duke of Orleans,
has erected this monument
in memory of his most beloved brother.

to him and his brothers by his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, is in the Queen's collection at Windsor. The subject is a landscape on the banks of the Tenessee in the United States; and a copy of it, by Storelli, formed a part of the Montpensier series in the Gallery of the Palais Royal.

CHAPTER VI.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE IN SICILY. — HIS ATTACHMENT TO THE PRINCESS MARIA-AMELIA.—HE GOES TO SPAIN WITH PRINCE LEOPOLD OF NAPLES.—HIS MOTIVES IN SO DOING.—OPINION OF LORD COLLINGWOOD ON THAT PROCEEDING.—HIS DESPATCH IN RELATION TO IT.—VISIT OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE TO LONDON.—HIS INTERVIEW WITH HIS SISTER.—HIS RETURN TO SICILY.—HIS MARRIAGE.—HIS MANNER OF LIFE.—HIS VOYAGE TO SPAIN AND THE REASONS FOR IT.—ITS RESULT.—RESTORATION OF LOUIS XVIII. —HIS FEELING TOWARDS LOUIS-PHILIPPE.—POLITICAL COMBINATIONS.—RETURN OF NAPOLEON FROM ELBA. — LOUIS-PHILIPPE PROCEEDS TO LYONS.—DISPOSITION OF THE TROOPS THERE.—PROPOSAL OF FOUCHÉ.—LETTER OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE TO MARSHAL MORTIER. — RETURN OF THE FORMER TO ENGLAND. — FINAL RESTORATION OF LOUIS XVIII. — LOUIS-PHILIPPE IN PARIS.—HIS SPEECH IN THE CHAMBER OF PEERS.—LETTER OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO HIM. — HIS HABITS OF LIFE. HIS— TREATMENT OF A LITERARY MAN. — ACCOUNT OF HIS FAMILY BY MADAME DE GENLIS.—PAUL COURRIER ON THE EDUCATION OF PRINCES. —ACCESSION OF CHARLES X.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of the Count de Beaujolais, the Duke of Orleans hastened to quit Malta, an island which suggested so many painful recollections. He passed over to Sicily, and having landed at Messina, announced his arrival and his misfortunes to Ferdinand IV., who, having been driven from Naples by Joachim Murat, had established his Court at Palermo. In reply he received a pressing invitation to the ancient palace of the Kings of Sicily, which he accepted, and he was received with the most courteous kindness, nay, almost with paternal affec-

tion. Here the Duke of Orleans became deeply attached to the Princess Maria-Amelia, daughter of Ferdinand IV. and of Marie-Caroline of Austria, whose political intrigues had long perplexed and complicated the affairs of Southern Europe. The Princess shewed no insensibility to the Duke's addresses; Ferdinand, however, was anxious that the marriage should be delayed, and Queen Caroline took advantage of the interval to engage the Duke's assistance in a plan she had formed for the advantage of her second son.

Napoleon having, by a variety of intrigues, procured himself to be invited to act as mediator between the imbecile King of Spain, Charles IV., and his scarcely less contemptible son Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, determined to dethrone the former and to prevent the accession of the latter. He was aided in this project by the unnatural Queen of Spain and her paramour Godoy. After a series of disgraceful intrigues, and a most scandalous display of treachery, Charles was induced to resign his throne, and Ferdinand was sent a close prisoner to France. Napoleon then proclaimed his brother Joseph King of Spain, to the entire exclusion of the legitimate family, and the usurping monarch took up his residence at Madrid. But the Spaniards protested against such an outrage on their ancient loyalty and national pride: they revolted against Joseph in every direction, receiving sympathy from nearly all Europe and the most powerful assistance from the British government.

The Queen of Sicily believed that her second son

Leopold, descended from the Spanish line of the Bourbons, might have some chance of obtaining the throne, either from Napoleon,—who might be disposed to conciliate the Spaniards by sending them a King less obnoxious than Joseph—or by the Spaniards, to whom the right of electing a King might seem to have fallen by the abdication of the legitimate monarch, and the exile of his family. To favour one or other of these combinations, she resolved to send Prince Leopold to Gibraltar, under the guidance and charge of the Duke of Orleans, in whose sagacity and abilities she had learned to repose great confidence. The English ambassador at Palermo was induced to favour the Queen's intrigues. He procured for Prince Leopold, the Duke of Orleans and their suites, a free passage from Palermo to Gibraltar in a British ship of war.

They reached the rock in 1808. Sir Hew Dalrymple was at this period the Governor of Gibraltar; but fortunately he was aided in his councils on this occasion by Admiral Lord Collingwood, not only the most eminent seaman in the British navy since the death of Nelson, but one of the soundest diplomatists ever employed in the corrupt and intriguing Courts of Southern Europe.

"I have another great puzzle come to me," said Lord Collingwood: "the Queen of Sicily has sent her son, Prince Leopold, to Gibraltar, to propose himself to be Regent of Spain. It appears to me to be extreme want of knowledge of the state of Spain. If it had

not been a Queen that did it I should have called it folly; but as Sidi Mahomet, when telling me in his letter what the Emperor had determined to do, says, 'You know emperors and kings are a great deal wiser than other people.' I suppose the rule applies to queens. The Duke of Orleans came down with him, and on the 13th of August I discussed the subject fully with his Highness, much to his satisfaction; and he went off to England with a light heart. The Duke professed to be much taken with me, though I had to argue against his object, and to put him from his purpose. He said, when we parted, that he should never forget the day that made him acquainted with me."

'Lord Castlereagh, afterwards Marquis of Londonderry, presided at this time over the Foreign Office, and took a deep interest in everything connected with the war of Spanish Independence. Lord Collingwood addressed a despatch to him on the schemes of the Queen of Sicily; but it is somewhat remarkable that he does not touch on a view of the case suggested by several Spanish and even French historians, that the Duke of Orleans might have sought his own personal elevation, and perhaps hoped that he might be invited to assume the Crown of Spain. There is undoubtedly no proof that such a plan was ever formed; but it would be rash to hazard the assertion that such a means of solving the complicated difficulties of the Spanish question had never been contemplated. In our account of the early life of the Regent of Orleans, we have given abundant proof of his having endea-

voured to make the Spanish monarchy an appanage of the junior branch of the House of Bourbon, and through the whole diversified course of Louis-Philippe, nothing is more remarkable than the perseverance with which he adhered to the old traditions of his family, and the value he always attributed to the policy of the Regent.

Lord Collingwood, however, seems to have believed that the entire scheme was concerted by the Queen of Sicily, and having announced the arrival of the Princes, he says, "Their business is to make some proposal to the Junta of Seville on the subject of a Regency. I was a good deal concerned at this intelligence, after my assurance to all the Juntas that the assistance which his Majesty had ordered to be given, was purely to enable them to maintain the integrity and independence of Spain, and was unmixed with conditions affecting the government; and I feared the people would suspect that, under the guise of disinterested aid, we were introducing the Princes to them for purposes distinct from our professions. I therefore wrote to the President of the Supreme Junta of Seville, and to the governor-general of the province, to announce to them, that the arrival of these Princes at Gibraltar was entirely unexpected by the governor and myself, and requested to be informed if their appearance in this quarter was in consequence of any correspondence which the Junta had had with the Court of Palermo. This I thought necessary, to remove any suspicion of intrigue from the British government.

In the evening I learned that the Duke of Orleans was to proceed to England in the *Thunderer*, and that the Prince of Sicily, with his suite, had landed at Gibraltar, until a ship should be appointed to convey his Royal Highness to Palermo again; but as I am informed that Mr. St. Clair and others, who formed the Queen's councils in Sicily, are the persons who composed his Royal Highness's retinue, I am not without apprehension that they will, from Gibraltar, make proposals to the Junta of Seville. If any inclination be shewn to accede to their proposals, it may produce discussions not favourable to the common cause with the other Juntas, whose sincere attachment to this is problematical.

"I have this moment received a letter from General Morla, in reply to mine of yesterday, on the subject of the Princes. Captain Legge, who was charged with the delivery of my letter to the Governor, informs me that he appeared exceedingly embarrassed by their arrival; that he could not understand how they could be brought thither in an English ship of war, without the privity of the Court of London; and that, if they come to Cadiz, he will not allow them to land until he receives the instructions of the Junta. Mr. Drummond will no doubt explain to your lordship the views of the Court of Palermo in sending the Princes to Gibraltar."

In addition to the preceding, his lordship addressed the following complimentary and conciliatory letter to the Marquis de Circello, which is still further

explanatory of the Duke of Orleans' peculiar position, and is an excellent specimen of the amazingly clear and lucid manner of Lord Collingwood. "I have received the honour of your letter, and your Excellency may trust, that in all things which relate to Prince Leopold's convenience and comfort, my inclination, as well as my duty, will lead me to be strictly attentive; and in the event of his Royal Highness passing into Spain, what his Majesty has desired shall be done, and a ship appointed to attend him. I am well satisfied, my Lord Marquis, that the King, my master, will approve of every step which may advance the interests, or add to the convenience, of any branch of the Royal Family of the Two Sicilies.

"His Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans, whom I have had the pleasure of seeing, informed me of the purpose for which Prince Leopold has taken this voyage; and his Highness was so well satisfied, that, in the present state of affairs in Spain, there neither exists a power to which Prince Leopold can address himself, nor which can, with any advantage to the future settlement of the government, address the Prince, that his Highness has proceeded to England to confer with his Majesty's minister. It has been a principle observed by the British government, and the orders given to their officers are founded upon it, that every possible aid be given to the loyal Spaniards, in the glorious contest in which they are engaged with the invaders of their country. Men, money, arms, whatever succour they may want, and

Britain can produce, are offered to them. It is given with a free and liberal hand, that they may be enabled to establish their King, and maintain their independence; but whatever has the appearance of interfering with their government, in the temporary modes of administration, which circumstances make it necessary to adopt, have been strictly avoided."

The next despatch of Lord Collingwood, continues the analysis of this strange adventure, and reprobates the rash folly of the Queen of the Sicilies, while it displays his lordship's own fitness for the discharge of the duties that were entrusted to him. It is as follows:—

"I have just received a letter from Don Francisco di Saavadra, the President of the Supreme Junta of Seville, to inform me that they knew nothing of the coming of Prince Leopold to this quarter until the letters from Gibraltar mentioned his arrival.

"I am not informed of what his Royal Highness purposes; whether it be to remain at Gibraltar, and wait the answer to the letters which he may have sent to England, or to return to Sicily; but I am quite assured that his presence at Gibraltar will not promote their views. They left Palermo without any knowledge of the state of Spain; for several of the nobles who attend his Royal Highness are French, and there is no government here which can give protection to any Frenchman from the populace.

"When the Duke of Orleans came here on Sunday,

in the 'Thunderer,' I waited on him. His Highness expressed a great desire to stay here, with a view of giving his support to the claims of Prince Leopold whatever they were; but I informed him that my orders from his Majesty's ministers were to give every assistance to the Spanish people to defend their country, and maintain their independence as a nation; that there were no stipulations respecting their government, or the mode in which they might conduct their affairs, which were left entirely to their own wisdom and energy; that I understood that the Junta had no correspondence with any other nation than England; and that his Royal Highness would perceive the impossibility of any proposition going to Spain from the ships or from the garrison, until it was directed by his Majesty's government. I observed to his Royal Highness, that, had the case been otherwise, had his Majesty sanctioned the measures proposed, there did not appear to me to be any power in Spain at this moment, to which Prince Leopold could address himself. Would he make his proposals to a provincial Junta? The proceedings of a particular Junta might not be approved by the rest, and thence discussions would arise, to the prejudice of the cause which he meant to support. If his Royal Highness addressed the people at large, he opposed the constituted authorities. And even had there been one sole council of Spain, the acknowledged organ of the nation, I presumed to give my opinion to his Royal Highness, that any proposal which his Sicilian Majesty

had to make to Spain, on behalf of himself and his rights, would have gone to such council with more importance and more dignity from his Court at Palermo, than by the mode which they had taken. This reasoning seemed to satisfy the Duke that nothing could be done at this moment; and he resolved to return to England, and refer himself to his Majesty's ministers."

The Duke returned to England and made a formal complaint against Dalrymple and Collingwood; but the conduct of both was entirely approved by the government, as it ought to have been; for the course taken by Prince Leopold and the Duke of Orleans might seriously have compromised the cause of independence in Spain. Had the British government encouraged the Sicilian Prince, they might have been accused of having adopted the policy of Napoleon against which they were contending, and of having endeavoured to impose a new dynasty on Spain. The Duke of Orleans, if placed at the head of a Spanish government as Regent, or of a Spanish army as Field-Marshal, would have become the rallying point for all the discontented spirits of France, whether Royalist or Republican, and thus have rendered himself the chief impediment to any reasonable chances of restoring peace to Europe.

But, in truth, the Duke of Orleans was by no means sorry that the firmness of the English government gave him an excuse for withdrawing from political combinations into which he had never entered very

eagerly, and of which cool reflection led him to disapprove.

After a short stay in London, Louis-Philippe, anxious at all hazards to obtain an interview with his mother, applied to the British Government for a passage to the Mediterranean, but a fear of the consequences which his presence might produce in Spain made ministers hesitate, and when at length a frigate was tendered for his service, the captain received strict orders not to permit him to land in any part of the peninsula. He went down to Portsmouth, and there had the inexpressible satisfaction of meeting his sister, Mademoiselle d'Orleans, from whom he had parted about fifteen years before in Switzerland. She had traced his wanderings with some difficulty from Malta to Gibraltar, and from Gibraltar to England; and had, after all, narrowly escaped the chance of seeing their long and painful separation still further protracted.

Their meeting was most affecting; both burst into tears and soon found that their interchange of sentiments ought to be without witnesses. They vowed to each other that they would not again separate, and thus the Princess had scarcely concluded one long voyage when she commenced another, by accompanying her brother to Malta. As they were not allowed to communicate with Spain, they were perplexed respecting the means of informing their mother of their circumstances and their destination; but the captain of the frigate, who compassionated the dif-

ficulties of their position, hailed a Spanish coasting vessel, and allowed Louis-Philippe to send his friend, the Chevalier de Broval, with letters to the Duchess of Orleans, fixing a rendezvous where, after so long a separation, she might be re-united to her surviving children.

After reaching Malta, Louis-Philippe, leaving his sister there under British protection, hastened to Palermo. Matters had changed since his departure; Queen Caroline was no longer disposed to favour his marriage with her daughter, for some of the Emigrants had infused into her mind the inveterate prejudices with which Marie Antoinette had regarded the House of Orleans; but King Ferdinand did not share these prepossessions, and he told the Duke that he could best remove them by bringing his sister and his mother to the Court of Palermo.

The Princess Adelaide accepted the invitation of the Sicilian Royal Family and came to Palermo, where she was most affectionately received, and a warm friendship was formed between her and the future Queen of the French, which death alone interrupted. But the opportunity of meeting their mother, afforded by a vessel sailing for Port Mahon, to which the Duchess of Orleans had removed, induced Louis-Philippe and his sister to quit these royal hospitalities. They embarked, and reached Minorca, Sept. 7th, 1809, where they found the Duchess of Orleans, who did not at first recognise their persons. After a very short sojourn in the island, Louis-Philippe

returned with his mother and sister to Palermo. By their influence with the Queen of Sicily, all the impediments to his marriage were removed, and on the 25th of November, 1809, he was married to the Princess, who had been from their first meeting the object of his warmest hopes and affections. Lord Collingwood incidentally bears testimony to the personal graces of this Princess, in a letter addressed to his brother-in-law, Mr. Blackett :—

"In Sicily," writes the gallant sailor, "they are all delighted; for, as they are always in danger, whatever reduces the enemy's forces diminishes their fears. I have a very handsome letter from the prime minister, who writes in the King's name, to congratulate me. The Court there is very gay at present, the Duke of Orleans being lately married to the Princess Amelia, who appeared to me to be a mild and pleasing woman. The old duchess, who is a delightful old woman, seems to have forgotten all her misfortunes—and they have been great—and is very happy in the choice which her son has made of a wife." It is singular, but Louis-Philippe may be said to have been contracted to the princess before her birth. When the Duchess of Orleans visited the Court of Naples, in 1776, the Queen, who was then near her accouchement, said to her, "If it please God to give me a daughter, I hope she may be married to your Duke of Valois!"

The Duke of Orleans lived happy and tranquil at Palermo until, in June 1810, he was again invited to Spain for the purpose of assuming a high military

command. On a former occasion Lord Collingwood had convinced him of the impolicy and impropriety of such a step. "Those princes," said his lordship, "who have borne arms against their own country have not been happy in the execution of their objects, and there is some ambiguity in the decision which history gives as to their motives; but even if you were perfectly justified in seeking a restoration to your rank and fortune by invading your country, England will not allow that invasion to originate in her dominions, through her direct instrumentality, for that would justify the invasion of England by the French in return, and is contrary to the instructions under which Sir Hew Dalrymple and myself are bound to act."

Don Mariano Carnevero, who was the deputy from the Spanish Regency to Louis-Philippe, succeeded in effacing the impressions which the sage counsels of Collingwood had produced. Louis-Philippe sailed from Palermo, and shortly after landed at Tarragona. He could hardly have arrived at a more inauspicious moment: the army of Catalonia had been just routed by the French. The Catalans were unprovided with the munitions of war, and were divided amongst themselves; and the presence of the Duke of Orleans seemed likely to bring the vengeance of Napoleon on the province; for, as we have seen, he believed that his throne was not secure from the partisans of the House of Orleans. Under these circumstances Louis-Philippe re-embarked and sailed for Cadiz, where he

was received with much respect by General Graham, afterwards Lord Lynedoch.

The Spanish Regency, though it had invited the Duke of Orleans, was much embarrassed by his presence. Several of the Spanish generals, and especially O'Donnell, viewed his appointment to military command with great jealousy; and Lord Wellington agreed with Lord Collingwood that the Prince ought not, for his own sake, to commit himself in arms against his countrymen. After three months of vacillation and intrigue, the Cortes finally decided that the Duke of Orleans should not hold any military command; upon which he quitted Cadiz and returned to Palermo.

"Undoubtedly," says the Count Toreno, "the Regency acted with levity, or rather with dishonest faith, in making overtures to the Duke, and afterwards stating, as a pretext for not fulfilling them, that it was he who had solicited a command: such a subterfuge was unworthy of any government that aspired to the reputation of greatness or candour." But the final decision of the Cortes was assuredly the wisest course that could be taken under the circumstances. Had Louis-Philippe been appointed to the supreme command of the Spanish armies, the chief direction of the campaign must have been taken out of the hands of the Duke of Wellington; and such a change would probably have had a most disastrous influence on the results of the peninsular war. If the Duke of Orleans had been taken prisoner by

the French, the fate of his unfortunate cousin, the Duc d'Enghien, was certain to have awaited him; but, taking the most favourable chances—supposing that the Spaniards had liberated their country under the conduct of the Duke of Orleans,—could he have escaped from becoming the supplanter of that Prince in whose name he had drawn his sword? Circumstances might have forced him to become a usurper; and, assuredly, he could not have escaped the imputation of meditating usurpation. Every one remembered that his great-grandfather, the Regent, after having vigorously aided in placing Philip V. on the throne of Spain, afterwards entered into intrigues for his removal, and for the transfer of the throne to the Orleans branch of the House of Bourbon.

Louis-Philippe arrived at Palermo early in October, 1810, and on his landing had the happiness to learn that his Princess had given birth to a son (the late lamented Duke of Orleans) on the 3rd of the preceding September. Two daughters were subsequently added to the Orleans family during their residence in Sicily.

The intrigues and despotic inclinations of the Queen, his mother-in-law, were viewed with unavailing disapprobation by Louis-Philippe. Having vainly endeavoured to persuade her to respect the parliamentary constitutions of Sicily, he withdrew himself from the Court, and ceased to take any part in public affairs. The first circumstance which drew him from his retirement, was the astounding intelligence of the

overthrow of Napoleon and the restoration of Louis XVIII.

Although a formal reconciliation had taken place between the Princes of the two branches of the House of Bourbon, after the return of Louis-Philippe and his brothers to Europe, Louis XVIII. seems to have been unable to divest himself of his hereditary suspicions of the Orleans family. No communication was made to Louis-Philippe of events in which he was so deeply interested; the intelligence was only brought to his knowledge on the 23rd of April, when it was conveyed by an English vessel to Palermo. It soon reached the retired country-seat where the Duke of Orleans resided; he at once proceeded to the capital, and waited on the English Ambassador to ascertain its correctness. When the Ambassador confirmed the report, Louis-Philippe could not avoid expressing some doubts; but a copy of the *Moniteur* was shewn him, containing an official account of the stupendous events in Paris. Leaving his family in their secluded retreat at Bagaritta, he started for Paris early on the following morning.

His journey excited no attention. He reached the French metropolis unnoticed, and went to an hotel as an ordinary traveller. Scarcely giving himself time to take necessary refreshment, he hastened to visit the Palais Royal, and traversed its galleries and gardens with inexpressible emotion. The door of the grand staircase under the vestibule happened accidentally to be opened: he entered just as one

of the porters, still wearing the imperial livery, was descending the stairs. Not recognising the Prince, the porter told him that no strangers could be admitted to the private apartments. Entreaties and bribes were of no avail; but when he saw Louis-Philippe, overcome with emotion, fall upon his knees and kiss the lowest step of the staircase, he recognised the Prince and cheerfully conducted him over the palace.

On the following day the Duke of Orleans presented himself at Court in his Sicilian suit, deeming it imprudent to wait until a court-dress could be prepared. Louis XVIII. received him very graciously, and said: "Your Royal Highness was a lieutenant-general in the service of your country twenty-five years ago, and you still retain your rank." His appointment, in fact, had been made three days before his arrival in Paris. The Duke, bowing low, replied: "Sire, I shall henceforth present myself in that uniform."

But Louis-Philippe seldom visited the Tuileries. He saw with displeasure and concern the preposterous policy adopted by Louis XVIII., and his impotent efforts to make the Restoration efface all the traditions and all the glories of the Republic and the Empire. Knowing that his remonstrances would be unheeded, and that he would only expose himself to angry suspicions, he pursued the course which he had adopted in Sicily, and lived as retired in the Palais Royal as he had done at Bagaritta.

His second son, the Duc de Nemours, was born in the Palais Royal on the 25th of October, and this increase of his family was an additional reason for his abstinence from politics.

The men of all the past revolutions in France were soon combined against the Restoration. Emissaries were sent in every direction to revive old animosities against the Bourbons; to declare that their title to the throne was invalid, and that it ought to be revoked as having been imposed by foreigners on the nation. "It is generally believed," says Sir Walter Scott, "that Bonaparte was not originally the object designed to profit by these intrigues. He was feared and hated by the Jacobin party, who knew what a slender chance his iron government afforded of their again attempting to rear their fantastic fabrics, whether of a pure republic or a republican monarchy. It is supposed that their eyes were turned in preference to the Duke of Orleans. They reckoned, probably, on the strength of the temptation, and they thought that in supplanting Louis XVIII. and placing his kinsman in his room, they would obtain, on the one hand, a king who should hold his power by and through the Revolution, and, on the other, that they would conciliate both foreign powers and constitutionalists at home, by choosing their own sovereign out of the House of Bourbon. The more cautious of those concerned recommended that nothing should be attempted during the life of the reigning monarch;

others were more impatient and less cautious; and the Prince alluded to received an unsigned billet containing only these words: "We will act it without you; we will act it in spite of you; we will act it FOR you"—(*Nous le ferons sans vous; nous le ferons malgré vous; nous le ferons pour vous*); as if putting it in his choice to be the leader or victim of the intended revolution.

"The Duke of Orleans was too upright and cautious to be involved in this dark and mysterious scheme. He put the letter which he had received into the hands of the King, and acted otherwise with so much prudence as to destroy all the hopes which the revolutionary party had founded upon him."

Sir Walter Scott has not cleared up all the mystery which envelopes this interesting point of European history. It is quite true that the Jacobins would have preferred the Duke of Orleans to Napoleon; but it is also certain that they would rather have had a Republic than either, and that many of them consented to the Duke of Orleans with the secret hope that he would soon be "used up," and that then the establishment of a Republic would be inevitable. On the other hand, Louis-Philippe hated the Jacobins with his whole heart; he believed that they had lured his unfortunate father into deeds which had fixed an everlasting stigma on his name, and had then removed him by a judicial murder in the sheer wantonness of democratic malice. He never disguised his sentiments

respecting those who had taken an active part in the Reign of Terror; and his contemptuous reception of Carnot was long the subject of gossip in the saloons of Paris. The great ambition of Louis-Philippe, in 1814, was to become the leader of the constitutional monarchists; the elements of such a party existed, but it wanted form and organisation.

On learning the astounding intelligence of Napoleon's landing from Elba, the Duke of Orleans hastened to tender his services to Louis XVIII., and he was directed to repair to Lyons in company with Monsieur and Marshal Macdonald.

"Sire," said the Duke, on presenting himself to the King, "as for me, I am prepared to share both your bad and good fortune; although one of your royal race, I am your subject, servant, and soldier; do with me as your Majesty pleases, for the honour and the peace of our country."

On reaching Lyons, it soon appeared that the royal cause, so far as that city was concerned, was absolutely hopeless. "How will your soldiers behave?" said Monsieur to the Colonel of 13th dragoons. "The Colonel," says Sir Walter Scott, "referred him to the men themselves. They answered candidly, that they would fight for Napoleon alone. Monsieur dismounted and addressed the soldiers individually. To one veteran, covered with scars and decorated with medals, the Prince said, 'A brave soldier like you will at least cry *Vive le Roi!*' 'You deceive

yourself,' answered the soldier. 'No one here will fight against his father; I will cry *Vive Napoléon!*' The efforts of Marshal Macdonald were equally vain. He endeavoured to move the battalions to oppose the entry of Bonaparte's advanced guard. So soon as the troops came in presence of each other, they broke their ranks, and mingled together in the general cry of *Vive l'Empéreur*. Macdonald would have been made prisoner, but the forces whom he had just commanded would not permit this consummation of revolt. *Monsieur* was obliged to escape from Lyons almost alone. The guard of honour formed by the citizens to attend the person of the second of the Bourbon family, offered their services to Napoleon; but he refused them with contempt, while he sent a cross of honour to a single dragoon who had the loyalty and devotion to attend *Monsieur* in his retreat."

The Duke of Orleans, convinced of the inutility of resistance, had some difficulty in preventing the Count d'Artois from attempting to make a stand at Lyons. However, having succeeded, he hastened back to Paris, broke up his establishment, and sent his wife and children by the shortest and most expeditious route to England. A panic-stricken council, assembled by Louis XVIII., deliberated on the state of affairs. It was proposed by some that the King should withdraw beyond the Loire, appeal to the loyalty of the South and West, rally round him all Royalists, and raise the standard of civil war. The Duke of Orleans strenuously opposed this proposal.

He impressed on his hearers, that the rancorous passions excited by civil war, even if it resulted in a second Restoration, would leave behind them the thirst of revenge, vindictive feelings, and factious animosities, which might render the Restoration of social order utterly impossible. His sentiments prevailed; it resolved that the King should retire to the Northern frontier, and that the Duke of Orleans should have the command of the Northern army and fortresses.

We shall give the history of another intrigue, with which the name of the Duke of Orleans was blended, in the words of Sir Walter Scott, simply premising that we have had an opportunity of testing the accuracy of his statement, and can vouch for its correctness to the letter.

"At this moment of all but desperation, Fouché offered his assistance to the all but defenceless King. It is probable that the more he reflected on the character of his old master, Napoleon, the deeper became his conviction that they knew each other too well even to resume an attitude of mutual confidence. Nothing deterred, therefore, by the communications which he had opened with the Imperialists, he now demanded a secret audience of the King. It was refused, but his communications were received through the medium of two confidential persons deputed by Louis. Fouché's language to them was that of a bold empiric, to whom patients have recourse in a moment of despair, and who

confidently undertake the most utterly hopeless cases. Like such, he exacted absolute reliance on his skill, the most unscrupulous attention to his injunctions—the most ample reward for his promised services: and as such, too, he spoke with the utmost confidence in the certainty of his remedy, whilst observing a vague yet studious mystery, of the ingredients of which it was composed, and the mode in which it was to operate. He required of Louis XVIII., that he should surrender all the executive authority to the Duke of Orleans, and all the ministerial offices to himself and those whom he should appoint; which two conditions being granted, he undertook to put an end to Bonaparte's expedition."

Sir Walter Scott treats the proposal of Fouché as a mere delusion, by which the propounder himself would hardly have been deceived. We who have lived to see the permanence and strength of Jacobin influence over the operatives of Paris, protracted nearly a quarter of a century beyond the time when Sir Walter Scott doubted its existence, may be permitted to believe that Fouché did not speak quite so vaguely as many historians have supposed.

Whether the theory was supported and encouraged by Louis-Philippe or not, the fact is unquestionable, that from the very commencement of the French Revolution, in 1789, some of the most profound thinkers in Europe were of opinion that an Orleans dynasty was the only means by which Royalty and

Revolution could be conciliated in France. It was the knowledge of this belief that led the more violent Jacobins to bring Egalité to the scaffold, and which induced the Directory to make the banishment of Louis-Philippe from Europe a condition for the liberation of the Orleans Princes confined at Marseilles. So long as the star of Napoleon was lord of the ascendant, both branches of the House of Bourbon seemed destined to hopeless obscurity, and the circumstances which led to his abdication at Fontainebleau succeeded each other with such rapidity, and occupied so short a space of time, that there was no opportunity given for deliberation. In fact, the restoration of Louis XVIII., to use the phrase of Talleyrand, was *improvised;* and hence the Monarch was not understood by his people, nor the people by the Monarch.

But all these circumstances were extrinsic to Louis-Philippe; he neither created nor controlled them, and so far from having sought them, he felt for several years that they were the chief misery and perplexity of his existence. He was put forward in the invidious light of a candidate for the throne, while he did not himself believe that there existed a remote chance of its ultimate attainment.

The rapid flight of Louis XVIII. beyond the frontier rendered the situation of those who had accepted a command in the Royal army very perplexing. As General of the North, the Duke of Orleans issued an order to the commandants of the different posts under his control, enjoining "that they would make all

considerations subordinate to the pressing demands of their country; that they should avoid the horror of civil war by every means; should rally round the King and the charter of tneir liberties; but, above all, not permit foreign troops to cross the frontier, and occupy any of the strong places within France." On the very same day the telegraph published the following proclamation, which had been issued by Napoleon:—"The Emperor having entered Paris at the head of the very troops that were sent to oppose him, the civil and military authorities are hereby cautioned against obeying any other than the Imperial orders; and enjoined, under the last penalty of military law, to hoist the tricoloured flag upon receipt of this intelligence."

It was soon manifest that the army of the North was as devoted to the cause of the Emperor as the garrison of Lyons. The Duke of Orleans exerted himself for two or three days to inspire them with more loyal sentiments; but finding that all his efforts were unavailing, he broke up his establishment on the 24th of March, and set out for England to join his anxious family. Before leaving Lille, he addressed the following letter to Marshal Mortier, his colleague in command,—the same who was afterwards killed at his side by the infernal-machine of Fieschi:—

Lille, 23rd March, 1815.

"My dear Marshal,—"I have just resigned to you the whole command, which I should have been happy

to exercise, in conjunction with you, in the department of the North. I am too good a Frenchman to sacrifice the interests of my country, because fresh misfortunes oblige me to leave it. I go to bury myself in retirement and oblivion. The King being no longer in France, I cannot transmit you any further orders in his name, and it only remains for me to release you from an observance of all the orders which I have already transmitted to you, and to recommend you to do everything that your excellent judgment and your pure patriotism will suggest to you, most beneficial to the interests of France, and most suited to all the duties you have to fulfil. Farewell, my dear Marshal,—my heart is oppressed in writing this word. Preserve your friendship for me wherever fortune shall lead me; and depend upon mine for ever. I shall never forget what I have seen of your character during the too short period we passed together. I admire your loyalty and your noble disposition, as much as I esteem and love you: and it is with all my heart, my dear Marshal, that I wish you all the prosperity of which you are worthy, and which I still hope may attend you.

"L.-P. D'ORLEANS."

The Duke of Orleans was accompanied to England by his sister. He established his family at Twickenham, a place endeared to him by a thousand tender recollections, and, during the hundred days, lived in the most perfect and absolute seclusion. But the

old enemies of his family did not respect his retirement. The ultra-Royalists, aware that the Duke had sedulously endeavoured to inspire Louis XVIII. with liberal and moderate sentiments, laboured to revive the ancient suspicions and animosities between the two branches of the House of Bourbon. Protestations and professions of faith were forged in the Duke's name and inserted in the public journals: these were brought under the notice of Louis XVIII., while the Duke's indignant disclaimers were studiously withheld from his knowledge.

Napoleon always spoke with great respect of the Duke of Orleans; but it is very improbable that he would have allowed him to return to France, had the Empire continued. On the other hand, Louis-Philippe always declared that he could never be reconciled to the murderer of his unfortunate cousin, the Duc d'Enghien, without personal dishonour. Whether any project was formed for reconciling the Emperor and the Duke, appears doubtful; but the battle of Waterloo decided all such matters; Napoleon became a prisoner on board an English ship of war, and Louis XVIII. was restored to his throne. Fouché, who had dealt out impartial treachery to all parties,*

* "In private," says a contemporary, "he caressed the revolutionists, who wished to have in Napoleon, not an emperor, but a republican general; he corresponded with Metternich and Talleyrand as to the best mode of subverting the Emperor's government; he communicated with the ministers of Louis XVIII. at Ghent, to secure the support of that monarch, in case the Bourbon dynasty should be a second time restored; and he gave

aware that Louis XVIII. would dismiss him from office at the first opportunity, endeavoured to engage the Duke of Wellington to support his project of transferring the crown of France to the Orleans branch of the Bourbons. In a letter addressed about this time to the great English General he says, "*The personal qualities of the Duke of Orleans, the remembrance of Jemappes, the possibility of making a treaty which would conciliate all interests, the name of Bourbon, which might serve outside, but not be pronounced within,*—all these motives, and many others that might be mentioned, present in this last choice a perspective

secret information to the Duke of Wellington as to the military plans of Napoleon. His correspondents in London, Vienna, and Ghent, faithfully obeyed his instructions, and represented him as one of the best supports of the Royal cause, while he himself was busily engaged at Paris in exciting the hopes and efforts of every party, from the military creatures of the Emperor down to the lowest dregs of the Revolution. On the return of Louis XVIII., as a reward for the services he was supposed to have rendered to the cause of Royalty, Fouché was continued in his dignity. But he soon perceived that his character was too well known, his revolutionary deeds too well remembered, for him to enjoy the confidence of the King. The election of a new Chamber of Deputies, of whom nearly all were Royalists, and the clamour daily raised against his profligacy and treachery, convinced him that it would be dangerous to continue in his post. He resigned, and was appointed ambassador at Dresden. The public vengeance pursued him: in January, 1816, he was denounced as a regicide by both Chambers, and condemned to death in case he reentered the French territory. He settled first at Prague, and afterwards, with the consent of the Austrian Government, at Lintz and Trieste. In the latter city he sickened and died in the year 1820."

of repose and security, even to those who could not perceive in them an omen of happiness."

When Louis-Philippe returned to Paris in order to remove the sequestration which Napoleon had placed upon his property, he presented himself at the Court of the Tuilleries, and was mortified by a most frigid reception. Louis XVIII. made no secret of his want of confidence in the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince returned to England. He was, however, recalled to Paris by a Royal ordinance, which summoned the Princes of the Blood to sit in the Chamber of Peers. He arrived at a time when the high Royalist party meditated the most sanguinary projects of vengeance against all who had taken part in the successive French Revolutions. The committee of peers entrusted with the preparation of an address to the throne, introduced into it the following ferocious paragraph :

"Without depriving the Crown of its prerogative of mercy, we venture to recommend the rights of justice ; we venture to solicit from its equity the necessary retribution of rewards and punishments, and a complete purifying of the public administration."

When this passage was read in the sitting of the 13th of October, several peers protested against sentiments so inconsistent with humanity and justice. Lanjuinais, Destutt de Tracy, Barbe-Marbois, and the Duc de Broglie, declared that the paragraph was unworthy of the Assembly, and a direct breach of the

Royal prerogative. It was, however, defended, by the Duc de Fitzjames, who reminded the Chamber "that the whole Electoral College demanded the punishment of the guilty; that the nation was disgusted at the impunity they enjoyed; that the people required that great examples should be made; they wished this, and he was persuaded there was not a person within those walls who would dare to protect the guilty from the punishment they justly merited."

The Duke of Orleans shewed signs of great excitement and indignation on hearing these sentiments. He rose to speak, and as he advanced to the tribune, a mingled feeling of anxiety and curiosity pervaded the Assembly. Having obtained permission to proceed, he spoke to the following effect:—

"All that I have heard only confirms me in the opinion, that it would be preferable to propose to the Chamber something much more decisive than any of the amendments that have hitherto been submitted. I propose the total suppression of the obnoxious clause. Let us leave to his Majesty's parental care the charge of providing constitutionally for the maintenance of public order, and let us not make demands which malevolence may possibly convert into weapons for disturbing the repose of the nation. Our capacity as judges of appeal over those very individuals towards whom you recommend the exercise of justice rather than clemency, imposes an absolute silence upon us with respect to them. Every previous declaration of opinion appears to me to be an actual prevarication in

the exercise of our judicial functions, making us at once accusers and judges."

The effect of this speech was decisive; cries of "Supported" among which the voice of the Duc de Richelieu was particularly remarkable, were heard from all sides of the Chamber, and the obnoxious paragraph was rejected without a division.

Louis XVIII. and his coterie were very indignant at this unexpected result. The ordinance, admitting Princes of the Blood to a seat in the Chamber of Peers, was recalled; they were forbidden to appear there for the future unless summoned by special authority. The ostensible reason assigned for this wanton insult was, that the Duke of Orleans had not joined the King at Ghent. He consulted the Duke of Wellington as to the course he ought to pursue during "the hundred days," and the following is his Grace's reply, written, it will be seen, only twelve days before the battle of Waterloo:—

"Brussels, 6th June, 1815.

"SIR,—I received your Highness's in due course, and I should have answered it sooner if I had not wished to give to the subject to which it relates all the consideration which it deserves.

"In my opinion, the King was driven from his throne because he never had the real command over his army. This is a fact with which your Highness and I are well acquainted, and which we have frequently lamented; and if the trivial faults, or even

follies of his civil administration had not been committed, I believe the same results would have been produced. We must consider the King, then, as the victim of a successful revolt of his army, and of his army only; for whatever may be the opinions and feelings of some who took a prominent part in the Revolution, and whatever the apathy of the great mass of the people of France, we may, I think, set it down as certain, that even the first do not like the existing order of things, and that the last would, if they dared, oppose it in arms.

"Now, then, this being the case, what ought to be the conduct of the King. First, he ought to call for his Allies to enable him to oppose himself to his rebellious army; and he ought by his personal countenance, and the activity of his servants and adherents, to do everything in his power to facilitate their operations, and to diminish, by good order and management, the termination of the war upon his faithful subjects, and to induce them to receive his Allies as friends and deliverers. The King should give an interest to the Allies to support his cause; and this can be done only by his coming forward himself in it. So far your Highness will see that I differ with you regarding the conduct of the King. In regard to your Highness, I do not see how your Highness could have acted in a different manner up to the present period.

"It is not necessary that I should recite the different reasons you had for keeping at a distance from the Court, since it has been at Ghent; but I feel them all,

and I believe the King is not insensible of the weight of some of them.

"But if, as may be expected, the entrance and first successes of the Allies in France should induce the people to come forward, and a great party should appear in favour of the King in different parts of the kingdom, surely your Highness would then consider it your duty to come forward in his Majesty's service. I venture to suggest this conduct to your Highness, telling you, at the same time, that I have not had any conversation with the King upon it, &c.

"WELLINGTON."

"To His Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans."

It is not certain whether the Duke of Orleans would have followed this advice if the war had been protracted. He felt very keenly the treatment he had experienced from the King at Lille, when that monarch secretly made his escape, leaving him without one word of information or instruction, and deceiving him as to his destination.

Having arranged his business affairs, Louis-Philippe returned to Twickenham, where he remained, until the autumn of 1817 in a kind of voluntary exile. The only occasion on which he interfered in public affairs was when the brave Marshal Ney was condemned to death: Louis-Philippe made several efforts to save him, and vainly tried to interest the Prince-Regent in his behalf. These exertions increased the alienation of the King, and it was generally known that the Duke

of Orleans was out of favour at Court, when he returned to Paris in 1817. Talleyrand ventured to suggest to him that he ought to retire to Sicily or Naples, but Louis-Philippe firmly replied, "I shall never hereafter expatriate myself. If my Royal master conceives that my presence in France is dangerous to the public peace, or that my conduct is deserving of any degree of punishment or admonition, I am prepared to defend myself before the tribunals; but I shall only submit to a legal trial."

Excluded from the Court, the Duke of Orleans devoted his attention to the management of his vast estates, the payment of his father's creditors, and the education of his children. He gathered round him a circle of the leading literary men of Paris: though in habits of close intimacy with the leaders of the Opposition, Lafayette, Foy, Lafitte, Casimir Périer, and others, he would not permit the measures of the government to be censured in his saloons; and hence the discontented loudly proclaimed that he did not belong to their party. His generosity to the widow and children of Marshal Ney was great but unostentatious; his beneficence was universally recognised; systematic in everything, he opened a *bureau des secours*, or "office of relief," in the Palais Royal for the more effectual distribution of his bounty. An anecdote on this subject, recorded by M. Boutmy, deserves to be quoted:

"On a certain day, one of his secretaries happened to ask him for a sum of five hundred francs, to relieve

the family of a literary man who had been unfortunate. The Prince, who was engaged at the time, talked to him at once on the subject of politics, and the news of the day. The conversation was prolonged until the Duke was informed that his counsel awaited his presence. '*A propos*,' then said he to the secretary; "you have asked for a note for a thousand francs for a distressed family.' 'A *thousand* francs, Monseigneur!' that is one of those mistakes which must be carefully guarded against.' 'You are right, my friend,' said the Duke. 'The mistakes of princes often cost them so much, that I am not sorry upon this occasion that mine will be of some advantage to these poor people.' Instead of five hundred francs, the secretary received from him a note for a thousand."

The Duke's abstinence from politics was not appreciated at Court. It was known that a great part of the French nation wished to see the throne occupied by the Duke of Orleans, and hence it was inferred that he secretly encouraged these desires. Alexander, Emperor of Russia, had pointed to the Duke as the person most suited to reconcile Royalty with Revolution in France; Napoleon had repeated the same sentiment at St. Helena; and several English periodicals, on the Liberal side, frequently recommended this solution of the difficulties between France and the Bourbons. To avoid offence and suspicion, Louis-Philippe lived in comparative seclusion, personally superintending the education of his children. The reader will be grati-

fied by perusing the account which Madame de Genlis gives of the Orleans family at this period:

"I continued," says this venerable lady, "to pay my respects to Mademoiselle d'Orleans, who is still as kind and affectionate towards me as ever. I saw the young Prince de Joinville, who was only two years old, but who spoke as distinctly as a child of six or seven; he was also as polite as he was handsome and intelligent: in fact, the whole family of the Duke of Orleans is truly the most interesting I ever knew. The members of it are charming by their personal attractions, their natural qualities and education, and the reciprocal attachment of parents and children. I am greatly pleased with having proposed Madame Mallet to the Duke of Orleans, as a teacher to the young Princesses, his daughters. Madame Mallet is highly deserving, by her virtues and accomplishments, of being under the superintendence of a Princess of such uncommon merit as her Royal Highness the Duchess of Orleans: she possesses every qualification to comprehend fully the orders she receives, and to fulfil them with extreme exactness. It is Mademoiselle d'Orleans who teaches the eldest of her nieces, the Princess Louise, to play on the harp. She thought it due to her old teacher of the harp to invite her to hear her young pupil, and I was delighted with one of her lessons, at which I was present."

Hereditary associations had connected the House of Orleans with the Whig party in England from the days of the Regency; thence, the great leaders of the English Liberals who visited Paris, were generally to be found

in the circle at the Palais Royal. The Duchess of Devonshire was a frequent visitor, and was soon an intimate and personal friend of the Duchess of Orleans. His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, who had received Louis-Philippe when an exile in England, visited him in turn at Paris; there was indeed a striking similarity between the uninterfering, benevolent, and retired life of the two Princes.

When his son grew up, Louis-Philippe resolved to give him the advantages of a public education, and he entered him as a student in one of the colleges on the same terms as the son of a simple citizen. This gave fresh offence at Court, not only because such condescension was deemed derogatory to the dignity of Royal blood, but also because it seemed the result of an hereditary desire in the House of Orleans to obtain popularity at any sacrifice. Louis-Paul Courrier, a writer of considerable eminence, thus eloquently vindicated the conduct of Louis-Philippe:—

"Our youths grow up amongst us, and see the Princes of the nation grow up along with them. I say with them, and I speak advisedly: our children, more fortunate than ourselves, will know their Princes, with whom they have been educated, and will be known to them. Already has the Duc de Chartres, the eldest son of the Duke of Orleans, entered at a college in Paris,—a natural thing, it may be said, provided he is only old enough to comprehend the course of study. Natural, perhaps, but undoubtedly new for persons of his rank. Princes have not hitherto been

seen in public colleges, since princes and colleges have been in existence; and this noble youth is the first who has been educated in this manner, or who has derived benefit from the course of public national instruction; and, in an age so fertile in novelties, this is not of the description that should surprise us the least, that a prince should be studious, should join an academic class! that a prince should have companions and schoolfellows! Hitherto they have had only attendants, and never passed through any other school than that of adversity, whose too severe lessons were often lost. Polluted at every age, out of reach of the voice of truth, ignorant of things and of men, they were born and died in the chains of etiquette and ceremony, seeing only the false and tinselled colours displayed before them; they walked in the dazzling light above our heads, nor ever perceived us until, by some accident, they fell. At length, discovering the error which has separated them from nations, like the key of a vault, which, although outside the door, had not been used, they wish to see men, know what they know, and supersede all further necessity for lessons of misfortune to instruct them. Oh, late resolve! which, had it been earlier formed, would have saved them from the commission of so many faults, and France from the infliction of so many misfortunes. The Duc de Chartres at college, educated in the principles of Christianity and of monarchy, but also in those of the constitution, will soon learn that of which, to the irreparable loss of the

country, his ancestors were ignorant,—simple notions of plain truths, which the Court conceals from princes, and causes them to err at the expense of their people. The Dragonnades and day of St. Bartholomew had never been known, had the kings been educated in the midst of their people, spoken the same language, and conversed with them without interpreters or mediators of any sort: jacobinism, clubs, and barricades would never have had existence.

"The example left by the young Duc de Chartres to the inheritors of thrones, will no doubt be attended with advantageous results to them; it will be a happy as well as novel instance. What would that great king, Louis the Superb, say,—he who could not tolerate the idea even of his illegitimate children being confounded with the nobility of the kingdom, such was his sensitiveness at the degradation of the Blood-royal,—if he beheld his grand-nephew without page, or Jesuit, at a public school, mixing with the common herd of the human race, observing all the prescribed rules, and disputing with them for prizes, sometimes conqueror, sometimes conquered; never, it is firmly asserted, favoured or flattered beyond his competitors? This latter assertion there is little reason to discredit, the publicity of the examination rendering all such vile attempts difficult, if not impossible; besides, that description of complacency which would induce a willing surrender of the rewards of ambition, seldom exists amongst youth; they have not yet learned those arts of dissimulation

miscalled condescension, respect, and discretion, which at later periods, and under different circumstances, produce in some men a horror of truth. In the cloistered walks of these halls of learning everything is described by its proper name, every communication is one of instruction, nor are the best lessons those of the professors. Here is no Abbé Dubois, no Meniers, no one to tell the Prince that everything there belongs to him—time itself should be at his command—he is lord of all around. Such were not the circumstances attendant upon the collegiate life of the Duc de Chartres: he was treated without distinction or difference; he contended with the sons of lawyers, merchants, bankers, and others, not in superiority of accidental rank, but in legitimate objects of youthful ambition,—mastery of mind. Having completed his academic studies, the Duc de Chartres cannot fail to have derived an education superior to that of his contemporaries of rank, in the same degree or extent in which the discipline of a college exceeds that of a Court."

The sentiments with which Louis XVIII. regarded Louis-Philippe are thus recorded in that imbecile monarch's own memoirs. "I perceive," says he, "that although Louis-Philippe does not stir, he advances. How must I manage to prevent a man from walking who appears as if he did not make a step? It is a problem which remains for me to solve, and I should be glad not to leave it for solution to my successors." On the marriage of the

Duc de Berri with a Sicilian princess, the niece of the Duchess of Orleans, Louis-Philippe again presented himself at Court, and appeared to be graciously received. No suspicion was attached to the sincerity of his condolences when that Prince became the victim of a vile assassin; and when the Duc de Bordeaux was born, he seemed unmoved by an event which took away the prospects of succession to the throne from the junior branch of the House of Bourbon.

After the accession of Charles X., the Duke of Orleans went more frequently to the Tuilleries, and was graciously received, though he and the King were of the most opposite politics. But as the secluded life which the Duke led prevented these differences from appearing publicly, no quarrel ensued, though Charles X. expressed some anger when the Duke sent his carriage to attend the funeral of General Foy. In 1829, Louis-Philippe visited London, and had frequent interviews with the leaders of the political parties which then divided England. He introduced his eldest son to them, and spoke of the prospects of France, then ruled by the Martignac ministry, as bright and tranquil. He could not have foreseen that, ere the summer closed, Charles X. would have adopted a course which rendered revolution inevitable, and placed the House of Orleans in the position which was said to have been steadily sought by the family for more than a century.

CHAPTER VII.

POLICY OF CHARLES X.—HE REVIEWS THE NATIONAL GUARD.—A GENERAL ELECTION —VILLELE AND PRINCE POLIGNAC.—REPLY OF THE KING TO THE ADDRESS OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.—EXPEDITION AGAINST ALGIERS. — MAGNIFICENT BALL GIVEN BY LOUIS-PHILIPPE. — OMINOUS OCCURRENCE ON THAT OCCASION.—ORDONNANCES ISSUED BY CHARLES X.—HOW THEY WERE RECEIVED BY THE PEOPLE. —COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION.—NARROW ESCAPE OF PRINCE POLIGNAC. — M. BAUDE.—PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION. — OPERATIONS OF MARSHAL MARMONT. — MEETING AT THE HOTEL OF M. LAFITTE.—GUIZOT.—DANGER OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE. — AVERTED BY LAFAYETTE. — MANIFESTO IN FAVOUR OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE.— OVERTURES TO HIM.—HIS REPLY.—EMBARKATION OF CHARLES X. AT CHERBOURG. — LOUIS-PHILIPPE PROCLAIMED KING OF THE FRENCH.—HIS SPEECH. — SOPHIA CLARK *alias* THE WIDOW DAWES AND THE DUC DE BOURBON.—SERVILE ATTENTIONS PAID TO THE FORMER BY THE KING OF THE FRENCH.—MURDER OR SUICIDE OF THE DUC DE BOURBON.

CHARLES X., as Count d'Artois, had been one of the most inveterate enemies of the Revolution of 1789, and he was one of the leaders of the first emigration. His flatterers named him "*le preux chevalier*," and his tastes and studies inspired him with a reverence for the times of chivalry and feudalism. On ascending the throne, his great object was to become *le premier gentilhomme* of the kingdom. His predecessor, Louis XVIII., on the contrary, had frankly accepted the greatest result of the first French Revolution,—the abolition of all the relics of feudalism, and the ascendancy of the middle

classes, established on the ruins of the privileges of the nobility. In fact, Louis XVIII. was in life and death a thorough *Voltairian;* a sceptic in religion as in politics, openly stigmatized as a Jacobin philosopher by some of the warmest partisans of Royalty, and regarded by his successive ministers as a mere voluptuary, ready to make any sacrifice to secure indolent leisure for the gratification of sensual indulgence.

Charles X. ascended the throne with a firm resolution to bring France back to the monarchy of Louis XIV. The Jesuits were placed at the head of the national system of public instruction; religious processions were revived; and the ceremony of the coronation, performed with all the mummery of the ancient ritual, symbolized the revival of the old alliance between feudal royalty and the church.

The higher *bourgeoisie* soon saw that the power acquired by their order was menaced, and they prepared to resist the feudal and religious party by all the means which the charter had placed at their disposal. Nor were they conciliated by the fact that the prime minister, M. de Villele, was a man who had sprung from their own ranks, and was a *bourgeois* all over in manners, language, instinct, and capacity. They regarded him as a traitor to their order, and he in turn was resolved to deprive them of the franchises conceded by the charter.

The first object of attack was the National Guard. At first, Charles X. seemed anxious to conciliate the

citizen-soldiers; he entrusted them with the custody of the palace on the anniversary of the Restoration, and professed himself so satisfied with their conduct, that he expressed a wish to review the thirteen legions together in the Champ de Mars. But he did not even then repose full confidence in the National Guard. Previous to the reviews, a park of artillery from Vincennes, the pieces loaded, the matches lighted, and the gunners at their posts, was stationed behind l'Ecole Militaire, which commands the Champ de Mars; battalions of Swiss troops occupied the courts of the Hôtel des Invalides; and the regiments of the line, believed to be most faithful to Royalty, were posted in the Bois de Boulogne. Acclamations welcomed the King, but they were mixed with cries of dissatisfaction and insults to the Jesuits. Charles returned to the palace deeply mortified; the Duchess de Berri and the Dauphiness spared no pains to increase his resentments; and on that very evening an ordinance appeared in the *Moniteur* dissolving the National Guard, and declaring "that the King required not advice but homage from his people."

A general election took place amid the discontent and dissatisfaction which this event produced throughout France. Villele, who had secured a majority in the Upper Chamber by creating seventy-six new peers in one day, was defeated in the Chamber of Deputies, and compelled to resign his office. He was succeeded by M. de Martignac, who contrived to soothe the Chambers by some liberal concessions; but this

policy displeased the Court, and arrangements were secretly made to form a new ministry. M. de Martignac was suddenly dismissed, and the Prince de Polignac placed at the head of affairs. The accession to power of this most unpopular personage filled the *bourgeoisie* with apprehensions of a new revolution, and its feelings fluctuated between anger and dismay.

Polignac had participated in the conspiracies of Pichegru and Mallet against Napoleon. He had been one of the first to raise the White Flag in 1814; he had levied a regiment of Royalists during the hundred days; he had refused to swear to the Constitutional Charter, as hostile to the interests of religion, in 1815; and, when subsequently employed as an ambassador in England, he was believed to have adopted the political system of the Duke of Wellington. Aware of the odium they had to encounter, the new ministers did not venture to convene the Chambers for nine months after their accession to office, and they then prepared a royal speech which added fresh fuel to the flame of national discontent. "If criminal manœuvres," said the Monarch, "will continue to oppose obstacles to my government, I shall find in my resolution the strength to overcome them."

To this menacing speech the Chamber of Deputies made a spirited reply, which was signed by two hundred and twenty-one members. "The intervention of the country," said they, "renders some permanent concurrence of the political views of your government with the wishes of the people a condition

inseparable from the regular advance of public affairs. Sire, our loyalty and our devotion oblige us to inform you that this concurrence cannot exist between those who disown a country so calm, so faithful, and us, who, from a deep conviction, are come to lay in your bosom the grief of a whole nation."

Charles X. was disappointed and exasperated: he replied to the address in terms of unwise irritation. "I had calculated," he said, "upon the concurrence of the two Chambers for the benefits which I had contemplated in order to consolidate the happiness of my people. I regret to hear the deputies say that this concurrence does not exist on their parts. I have announced my resolution to you in my speech: *it is unalterable.* The interests of my subjects render my abandonment of it impossible. My ministers will acquaint you with my further wishes." The Chambers were then prorogued to the 1st of September.*

* "Immediate dissolution had been talked of at first. This was the advice of M. de Montbel, who would have had the ordonnance to that effect followed by a proclamation, addressed, in the King's name, to the electors. M. de Guernon Rauville vigorously opposed this suggestion, urging, that to make the King thus personally engage in the conflict of parties, would be seriously to compromise the majesty of the Crown; and that defeat in that case would be a death-blow to the monarchical principle. M. de Montbel appeared to count much on the affection of the French for Charles X. M. de Guernon Rauville did not hesitate to declare, in the Monarch's presence, that his colleagues laboured under a profound error in that respect. 'The French,' he said, 'have ceased to love their kings. Do you not see proof of this in the implacable hatred that clings to the mere meriting and possessing the highest consideration, from the

But the great body of the French nation resolved to support the deputies; "the two hundred and twenty-one" were everywhere celebrated as the only hope of the country; associations were formed to resist the payment of taxes, and a regular system of opposition to the government was organized throughout the provinces.

Polignac hoped to overcome his unpopularity by gratifying the French taste for military glory. An expedition against Algiers was prepared to punish several insults which the Dey had offered to the French flag. It was in vain that the English ministers remonstrated against the enterprise: a fleet and army were prepared, and the chief command given to M. de Bourmont, the most bigoted of the royalist party. But this expedition did not divert the public mind from the progress of the struggle between the King and the country. New associations were formed to print and circulate journals, in which the Court and the ministry were assailed with great vehemence, although not in language that could be considered treasonable or seditious. The members of this association were denounced, and brought before the court-royal at Paris; but the King's advocate was unable to obtain a conviction. This abortive

moment they have been honoured by the choice of the Crown?' Charles X. was not offended at this blunt candour. The idea of immediately dissolving the Chamber was abandoned. But things were at such a pass, that Charles X. had no other alternative to fall back upon than dictatorship."—*Louis Blanc's History of Ten Years.*

attempt increased the excitement on both sides; the government dismissed every prefect suspected of liberal tendencies, and placed on the bench some of their most unscrupulous partisans, by whose aid they hoped to crush the liberties of the press. Finally, an ordonnance for the dissolution of the chambers was published on the 17th of May.

On the 31st of May the Duke of Orleans gave a magnificent ball and public entertainment at the Palais Royal, in honour of his father-in-law, the King of Naples, who had come to visit Paris. The long arcades of the palace were brilliantly illuminated; numerous rows of orange-trees and stands of the rarest exotic plants were placed in the galleries; three thousand persons were assembled in the richly decorated apartments, and the gardens, freely opened to the public, were crowded with spectators. Charles X. himself was present as a guest, though several of his courtiers blamed this condescension, which they regarded as a breach of etiquette.

While the Duke of Orleans was receiving the congratulations of his guests on the taste and magnificence displayed at his entertainment, M. Salvandy observed, "It is quite a Neapolitan fête, your Highness; for we dance upon a volcano." "That there is a volcano here;" replied Louis-Philippe, "I believe as firmly as you do; but I know the fault is not mine. I shall not have any occasion hereafter to reproach myself for not having endeavoured to open the King's eyes; but what can we expect when

nothing is listened to? God knows where all this will end! I certainly do not foresee what is about to happen. I cannot tell where all those who are producing this state of things will be six months hence; but one thing I do know, which is, where I shall be myself. Under all circumstances or changes that may occur, my family and myself will remain in this palace; this is *our* throne. Whatever may be the peril of so doing, I shall never consent to separate the fate and the fortune of myself and children from those of the country. This is my fixed, unchangeable determination. Even recently, at Rosny, I spoke fully, freely, and undisguisedly, what were my sentiments upon the present alarming crisis."

In the midst of the ball a loud noise was heard from the garden. All was excitement and confusion in the saloons. Flames were seen rising in the garden, at the foot of the statue of Apollo. *Lampions* filled with scalding oil were flying about, flung by unknown hands. Women were rushing from the scene with shrieks of terror: the timely arrival of some troops put an end to the disorder, and the ball ended without any further accident.

Anxious forebodings absorbed every thought in the public mind, when a hundred cannon-shots announced the fall of Algiers to Paris. A solemn thanksgiving was ordered in the cathedral of Notre Dame; after *Te Deum* was sung, the Archbishop of Paris preached a remarkable sermon, addressed, according to the

French fashion, personally to the King. In the course of it the courtly prelate said, "May this victory be the presage to your Majesty of one still more important!"

It was thus made known that some *coup d'état* was meditated. The most clear-sighted of the Royalists became uneasy. M. de Villele hastened to Paris for the purpose of remonstrating against the rashness of his successors. Prince Metternich wrote sage warnings from Vienna, and said to the French ambassador, "I should be much less uneasy if M. de Polignac were more so." The designs of the Court, however, were kept a profound secret. On the very day that the memorable Ordonnances* were signed at St. Cloud, the

* Louis Blanc gives the following graphic description of the signing of the Ordonnances :—

"The Dauphin was present. He had at first given his voice against the Ordonnances; but he very soon surrendered his own opinion in deference to the Kings'; for the Dauphin trembled beneath his father's eye, and carried to a childish excess that respect for the head of his family in which Louis XIV. desired that the Bourbon princes should be brought up.

"The ministers took their places in silence round the fatal table. Charles X. had the Dauphin on his right, and M. de Polignac on his left. He questioned each of his servants one after the other, and when he came to M. d'Haussez, that minister repeated his observations of the preceding day. 'Do you refuse?' said Charles X. 'Sire,' replied the minister, 'may I be allowed to address one question to the King? Is your Majesty resolved on proceeding, should your ministers draw back?' 'Yes,' said Charles X., firmly. The minister of marine took the pen and signed.

"When all the signatures were affixed, there was a solemn and awful pause. An expression of high-wrought energy, mingled with uneasiness, sat on the faces of the ministers. M. de Polig-

Prince of Condi gave a splendid entertainment to the Duke of Orleans: there were theatrical performances in the evening, and the Baroness de Feuchères appeared on the stage.

On the morning of the 26th, a long and laboured ministerial report appeared in the official pages of the *Moniteur*. It served as an introduction to three ordonnances,—one dissolving the Chambers, although they had not yet assembled; a second, suspending the liberty of the press; and a third, prescribing a new system of elections. Resistance was commenced by the editors and proprietors of some of the liberal newspapers: they resolved to continue their publications in spite of the prohibition, and they issued a spirited protest against the legality of the ordonnance. Crowds assembled in the Palais Royal, and some young men mounting on chairs addressed them in inflammatory harangues. Prince Polignac's carriage was attacked, and the Prince was only saved by the dexterity of his coachman. A meeting of the deputies who had come up to Paris was held in the hotel of M. Casimir Périer, and a collision, in which some lives were lost, took place between the police and some students who had come to learn the result of the deliberations.

On the morning of the 27th, it was announced that

nac alone wore a look of triumph. Charles X. walked up and down the room with perfect composure: as he passed M. d'Haussez, who was looking up with an air of deep thought, 'What is it you are looking at so?' he said. 'Sire, I was looking round to see if there did not happen to be a portrait of Strafford here.'" *History of Ten Years.*

the military command of Paris had been entrusted to Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, whose desertion of Napoleon in 1814 was generally believed to have caused the overthrow of the Empire. But so improvident had Polignac been, that the garrison of Paris did not amount to twelve thousand men, and no proper measures had been taken to supply even these with ammunition and provision. The Places Carrousel, Bourse, and Vendôme, were occupied by cavalry and some detachments of the Royal Guards; but it was not until noon that any sign of activity was displayed. About midday a *commissaire* of police, accompanied by a body of mounted *gendarmerie*, proceeded to the office of *Le Temps*, in the Rue Richelieu, for the purpose of seizing the prohibited journal and breaking up its types. M. Baude, the proprietor, locked up his printing-office, and, surrounded by his workmen, calmly awaited the arrival of the police in the open street. The *commissaire* declared that he came in pursuance of the ordonnance; M. Baude denied its legality, and threatened to prosecute any blacksmith who should attempt to force his doors. Two smiths successively refused to make the attempt, and it was at length necessary to send for the man employed to rivet the chains on the convicts. The proceedings were thus protracted for some hours, and they tended to produce an impression that constitutional law had been deliberately violated by the government.

Up to seven in the evening there had not been any serious engagement; but stones had been thrown

and some shots fired, one of which proved fatal to a young woman. Her body being carried in procession greatly exasperated the multitude, and had no small influence in rendering the troops of the line unwilling to engage in civil war. Towards night the tricolour flag was displayed on one of the quays; barricades were constructed in some of the streets, and the students of the Polytechnic school sent a deputation tendering their services to the liberal Deputies.

On the morning of the 28th several National Guards appeared in their uniforms. The Hôtel de Ville was seized by the citizens; the workmen were arming themselves and erecting barricades in the faubourgs; and arms were obtained by the people from the shops of the gunsmiths and from the theatres. While the insurgents were attacking and seizing detached posts and guardhouses, Marmont had formed his troops in two columns near the Tuilleries,—one division being designed to march on the Hôtel de Ville by the line of the quays, and the other to proceed along the Boulevards to the great focus of insurrection, the Faubourg St. Antoine. In order to keep up a communication between these two divisions, a strong detachment of guards was directed to occupy the Marché des Innocents in the Rue St. Denis, and to keep that street open by a double line of patrols. It is a narrow street, from which an infinity of small crooked alleys branch off to the right and left. Sending the soldiers thither, and also to the Fau-

bourg St. Antoine, was to expose them to death from all quarters without the power of retaliation.

The Hôtel de Ville was abandoned by its defenders; but the troops in their advance along the quays suffered severely from the fire which the insurgents kept up from the opposite bank of the Seine, and from every lane and alley which they passed in their line of march. Greater difficulties were encountered by the other column. There was some smart fighting at the Madeleine, which was then unfinished: sanguinary battles took place at the gates St. Denis and St. Martin, and while the troops fought their way in advance, the crowds that followed them cut down the trees on the Boulevards and erected barricades which effectually cut off the possibility of returning by the same route.

After an hour's hard fighting, the Royal troops mastered the Faubourg St. Antoine; but they could not open a communication with the other division, and they had to return through the Rue St. Antoine, the Boulevards being no longer passable. Their march through this street was long and bloody. Groups of invisible sharpshooters poured a hailstorm of balls on the troops, and broken bottles, tiles, and furniture were flung upon them from every window. At length they were stopped by a huge barricade opposite the church, St. Gervais, and they had no resource but to cross the Seine and go round by the esplanade of the Invalides, and through the New Boulevards to the Place Louis XV. In the meantime the two

battalions in the Rue St. Denis, having suffered severely from cross-fires which they could not return, were shut up in the Marché des Innocents, hemmed in on all sides by the insurgents.

While the battle was raging in all parts of Paris, the Deputies assembled at the hotel of M. Auchy de Puyraneau, and, after much anxious but inconclusive deliberation, they resolved to open a negotiation with Marmont. Five Deputies undertook this mission. They saw the general, who, though greatly moved by their representations, would only consent to write for fresh orders to the King. Polignac was in the palace, but he refused to receive the deputation, and sent an express to the King, anticipatory of Marmont's despatch, assuring his Majesty that the success of the Royal cause was certain. Acting on the advice of his minister, Charles X. replied by directing Marmont to concentrate his troops round the Tuilleries, and to act in masses. The troops—but particularly the Swiss—suffered severe loss in their return to the palace; they had been all day fighting under a broiling sun without receiving any rations, and when night closed they found that no preparations had been made to afford them rest or refreshment. Disheartened and exhausted, the Royal troops made but a faint resistance to the insurgents on the 29th, and the regiments of the line in the Place Vendôme entered into friendly communication with the people.

Anxious to avert so fatal a movement, Marmont ordered these troops to be withdrawn, and their

place to be supplied by one of the two Swiss battalions which defended the Louvre. The officer in command, with strange inadvertence, instead of taking the battalion from the courtyard, marched away that which occupied the colonnade. A multitude of insurgents at once rushed through a wicket which had been accidentally left open, seized the abandoned halls and opened from the windows a heavy fire on the Swiss. Surprised and amazed, these intrepid mercenaries, believing themselves betrayed, fled with all speed across the Place du Carrousel. Hotly pursued by the insurgents, they communicated their panic to the troops in the gardens of the Tuilleries and in the Place Louis XV., or, as it is now called, the Place de la Concorde. In an instant the rout became general, and the King's army was in full retreat through the Champs Elysées. In an hour after, all the troops of the line remaining in Paris had gone over to the people.

In the meantime, the Deputies, some of the liberal Peers, and most of the leading men in Paris, assembled at the hotel of M. Lafitte. Some steps were taken for organising a provisional government, and in the interim measures for preserving order were taken in the name of a government, which as yet had no existence. On the recommendation of M. Guizot, it was resolved that a Municipal Commission should be appointed to take charge of the capital. Its members were Messrs. Casimir Périer, Lobau, de Schoner, Andry de Puyraneau and Mauguin. Scarcely had they been

installed at the Hôtel de Ville, when they had to receive three negotiators deputed by the King to announce that he had revoked the Ordonnances and dismissed his ministers. Some of the commission would have been willing to negotiate; but the mere hint that a compromise was contemplated roused all the fury of the mob, and the envoys returned to St. Cloud. Charles X. was still insensible of the extent to which the Revolution had proceeded; he played a rubber of whist in the evening as calmly as if he had been in the midst of tranquillity, and every minute point of etiquette was enforced in the palace with more than usual scrupulosity.

The Parisian populace had won the victory, without receiving any very energetic aid from the *bourgeosie*, or the National Guard; but to leave to the populace the choice of a new form of government would inevitably have precipitated the country into anarchy. The great majority of the liberal leaders, including Lafayette, Lafitte, Thiers, and Odillon Barrot, were of opinion that the King should be changed and a monarchy preserved. Nearly half a century had elapsed since it had been declared that, to secure the existence of constitutional monarchy in France, it would be necessary to transfer the Crown from the elder to the junior branch of the House of Bourbon; and this notion, frequently revived and repeated, induced the leading liberal statesmen to turn at once to the Duke of Orleans.

Louis-Philippe had remained at Neuilly during the

insurrection, taking no part in the desperate conflict. His son, however, on hearing of the commencement of hostilities, had quitted Joigny, where his regiment was quartered, to hasten to Paris, but was arrested at Montrouge. It is doubtful which side the Prince would have taken had he reached Paris, but it is generally believed that he intended to have offered his services to the King. Such was the opinion of some of the Red Republicans of Paris, who, on hearing that a Prince had been arrested, marched on Montrouge, determined to put him to death. Fortunately they were anticipated by a messenger, sent by Lafayette, with an order for the Prince's release. The delay of a quarter of an hour would have changed all the destinies of the Revolution, and Louis-Philippe would never have worn a crown picked up out of his son's blood.

When the Orleans party had formed its resolution, it proceeded to prepare the way for the accession of its chief with great energy, courage, and prudence. The following proclamation was adopted by the deputies assembled at Lafitte's, and was extensively posted throughout Paris.

"Charles X. can never return to Paris: he has shed the blood of the people.

"A Republic would expose us to horrible divisions: it would involve us in hostilities with Europe.

"The Duke of Orleans is a prince devoted to the cause of the Revolution.

"The Duke of Orleans has never fought against us.

"The Duke of Orleans was at Jemappes.

"The Duke of Orleans is a citizen King.

"The Duke of Orleans has carried the tricolour flag under the enemy's fire: the Duke of Orleans can alone carry it again. We will have no other flag.

"The Duke of Orleans does not declare himself. He waits for the expression of our wishes.

"The Duke of Orleans, if we proclaim those wishes, will accept the Charter, as we have always understood and desired it. From the French people he will hold his crown."

This proclamation was artfully worded and singularly effective. Its repetition of the Duke's name produced an impression on the memory which exercised considerable influence over the French imagination. The mention of Jemappes and the tricolour flag, gratified the national feeling, which had been exalted to the highest pitch by the victories of the Republic and the Empire. Finally, it gratified the populace by directly recognising the sovereignty of the people.

There is no doubt that Lafitte had sounded the Duke of Orleans and was aware of his intentions before MM. Thiers and Scheffer were sent publicly to the Prince. When the negotiators arrived at Neuilly, they were received by the Duchess of Orleans, who expressed the greatest indignation at their proposing that the Duke should violate his allegiance to his King and benefactor. Madame Adélaide, the Duke's sister, took a different view of the state of affairs. "Let them," said she, "make my brother a President, a

National Guard, or anything they please, provided they do not make him an exile and an outlaw." Lafitte had previously declared, that Louis-Philippe must choose between a crown and a passport. Through the influence of Madame Adélaide the negotiators were enabled to transmit their propositions to Louis-Philippe. They returned to Paris and published a glowing account of their reception.

But in the meantime the Royalists and the Republicans had not been inactive. The friends of Charles X. were ready to promise anything and everything in his name; the Republicans threatened to shoot any one who proposed to retain the monarchy; and there were a few old officers ready to proclaim the Empire in the person of young Napoleon. But among the *bourgeoisie* and the Deputies, a happy phrase of Odillon Barrot had great currency, and became the expression of general opinion. "The Duke of Orleans," he said, "is the best of Republics." In the course of the day, the Deputies assembled in their usual place of meeting, and decided on proclaiming the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

It was at a late hour on the night of the 30th that the Duke of Orleans entered Paris in a most painful state of uncertainty. Hours were spent in consultations with his friends and with the great leaders of the chief political parties. At length the Duke's indecision was overcome by the influence of M. Talleyrand; the offer of the Deputies was accepted, and the fact

was announced to the Parisians in the following proclamation :—

"INHABITANTS OF PARIS,—The Deputies of France, at this moment assembled in Paris, have expressed their desire that I should betake myself to this capital to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

"I have not hesitated to come and partake your dangers, to place myself in the midst of this heroic population, and use all my endeavours to preserve you from civil war and anarchy. On entering the City of Paris I wore with pride those glorious colours you have resumed, and which I had myself long carried.

"The Chambers are about to assemble: they will consult on the means of securing the reign of the laws and the maintenance of the rights of the nation.

"A charter shall be henceforth a verity.

(Signed) "LOUIS-PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

This proclamation was accepted by the *bourgeoisie* and the Deputies; but there was reason to doubt its reception by the Republicans, who had established themselves in the Hôtel de Ville. Thither the Duke went in person, accompanied by a small train. While the Republicans were yet hesitating and doubting, the Duke of Orleans and the Marquess de Lafayette appeared together at the window, bearing a tri-coloured flag. At sight of this magic banner, a unanimous shout of *Vive le Duc d'Orleans* was raised by the assembled multitudes, and from that moment all chances of establishing a Republic were at an end.

In the meantime, Charles X. and his family, alarmed by the rapid desertion of the soldiers and even of the Royal Guards, had removed from St. Cloud to Trianon, and thence to Rambouillet. After some hesitation he signed an ordonnance constituting the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, which he forwarded to Paris by a special messenger. The Duke's reply abounded in professions of loyalty and affection, and the Monarch was completely deceived; he resolved not only to abdicate himself, but to compel the Dauphin to adopt the same course, and to proclaim the succession of the Duc de Bordeaux. He was soon undeceived; a disorderly army of insurgents marched upon Rambouillet, and commissioners appointed by the Duke of Orleans hastened to inform Charles X. that the safety of the Royal Family required their immediate departure from France. The fallen Monarch made several efforts to obtain a recognition of the rights of his grandson, and inveighed bitterly against the Duke of Orleans; but that Prince had good reason to dread the invidious position of Regent. "If Henry V." he said, "had only a pain in his stomach, it would be enough to have me denounced throughout Europe as a poisoner."

Charles X. and his family embarked at Cherbourg. The Legitimist party, completely broken and panic-stricken, abstained from all interference, and the Republicans had lost their opportunity and had no hope, save in Lafayette, who was known to have expressed himself warmly in favour of adopting the constitution of

the United States. But Lafayette was convinced that such a project would involve Paris in all the horrors of a new revolution, and had finally resolved to support monarchy as the only real security against anarchy. So wisely had the Orleanists concerted their measures, that the debate in the Chamber of Deputies, on the proposition for declaring the throne vacant, and electing Louis-Philippe King of the French, was little else than a mere form. The division was taken by ballot with the following result.

Number of Voters,	252
White balls,	219
Black balls,	33

The calling over of the names had not been concluded when M. Dupin entered, displaying a tricoloured ribbon in his button-hole; and it was voted by acclamation that France should resume its colours.

Without waiting for the adhesion of the Peers, the Chamber of Deputies proceeded to the Palais Royal, and presented its declaration as a definitive compact between the country and its new monarch. Under such circumstances, it was natural to believe that the concurrence of the Peers would be a mere matter of course. Such, indeed, it would have been but for the chivalrous Chateaubriand, who delivered a most eloquent speech in favour of the vanquished dynasty, and a withering sarcasm against the cowardice of those Royalists who, after having urged Charles X. to seize absolute power, had now sought shelter under the

revolutionary tri-colour. These fervid outpourings of indignant sorrow fell on icy hearts. A deputation was appointed to echo the sentiments of the Chamber of Deputies. It proceeded to the Palais Royal, went calmly through the prescribed formalities, and returned satisfied with a common-place reply.

Monday, the 9th of August, was fixed for the installation of the new King in the presence of the Chambers. A throne, overshadowed with tri-coloured flags, and surmounted with a crimson velvet canopy, was erected in the Palais Bourbon, in front of which seats were arranged for the Lieutenant-General and his two eldest sons. A table covered with velvet, on which stood the pen and ink to be employed in signing the contract, separated the seat reserved for the Prince from the throne, and might have been regarded as the type of the interval that separated him from royalty. As the Duke of Orleans proceeded from the Palais Royal to the Palais Bourbon, crowds followed, chaunting the Marseillaise at the top of their voices, and almost drowning the thunder of the cannon fired at the Invalides. On taking his seat Louis-Philippe, contrary to previous etiquette, addressed the Peers and Deputies with the same formalities, and Casimir Périer then read the declaration which had been adopted two days previously. The Duke in reply read his adhesion in the following terms :—

"*Messieurs les Pairs,—Messieurs les Députés,*—I have read with great attention the Declaration of the Chamber of Deputies, and the Act of Adhesion of the

Chamber of Peers. I have weighed and meditated every expression therein.

"I accept, without restriction or reservation, the clauses and engagements contained in that declaration, and the title of King of the French which it confers on me, and I am ready to make oath to observe the same."

The Duke then rose, took off his glove, uncovered his head, and pronounced the form of oath handed to him by Dupont de l'Eure.

"In presence of God, I swear faithfully to observe the Constitutional Charter, with the modifications set forth in the Declaration, to govern only by the laws, and according to the laws; to cause good and exact justice to be administered to every one according to his right, and to act in everything with the sole view to the interest, the welfare, and the glory of the French people."

Amid loud acclamations Louis-Philippe then signed the three copies of the Charter and his oath, which were to be deposited in the archives of the kingdom and the two chambers. The insignia of royalty were then displayed, and the new King ascending the throne with his head covered, intimated that he wished to speak.

"I have just ratified a great act," he said; "I am profoundly sensible of all the extent of duties it imposes on me. I feel conscious that I shall fulfil them. It is with full conviction that I have accepted the compact of alliance proposed to me.

"I should have earnestly desired never to occupy the throne to which the wishes of the nation have called me; but France, assailed in her liberty, saw public order in peril: the violation of the Charter had shaken everything; it was necessary to reestablish the action of the law, and it belonged to the Chambers to provide for that necessity. You have done so, *Messieurs:* the wise modifications we have effected in the Charter guarantee the security of the future; and France, I trust, will be happy within, respected without, and the peace of Europe will be more and more confirmed."

The Duke of Orleans was now Louis-Philippe, King of the French. This position was forced on him by the exigence of circumstances. Had a Republic been proclaimed he must have again gone into exile; had he attempted to secure the succession for Henry V., he would have found none ready to support him but the Legitimatists, whose party was dispersed and broken. Order had become essential to social existence in France; the commercial crisis produced by the Revolution had spread the most frightful distress among the working classes; employment was suspended, and hundreds of families were in want of bread. The new government had to struggle against this accumulation of difficulties, which was aggravated by the discontent that had been excited by conceited sciolists, each of whom had some pet proposal to remedy the evil, and each of whose plans would only have increased its intensity and extended its duration. Under

all the circumstances, it was necessary to temporise with these political mountebanks; but it required all the prudence of Louis-Philippe to get rid of the petulant conceit of boys and briefless barristers, all anxious to set themselves up as statesmen.

The congratulatory acclamations raised round the new throne were interrupted by a sad event, — the suicide or murder of the Duc de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, which awoke strange and terrible suspicions, involving the reputation of Louis-Philippe. When the Revolution of July broke out, the Duc de Bourbon, a feeble old man, was living quietly on his domains at St. Leu. The perils of the Monarchy filled him with grief and alarm; he formed the project of joining his unfortunate master, and offering him—if not active service—at least the consoling offices of fearless fidelity. But the Prince was wholly under the control of an imperious mistress, who had been an inferior actress at Covent Garden Theatre, and had afterwards lived at Turnham Green on the wages of dishonour. Her real name appears to have been Sophia Clark; but when she accompanied the Prince to Paris, after the restoration of the Bourbons, she passed herself off as the Widow Dawes. Through the influence of the Duc de Bourbon, she had been married to the Baron de Feuchères, who believed her to be a natural daughter of the Prince. Some years elapsed before he discovered the secret of his dishonour, and he quitted the Prince's service, publicly protesting against the baseness of which he had been the dupe.

Madame de Feuchères persuaded the Duc de Bourbon to compensate her for the abandonment of her husband, by bequeathing to her the domains of St. Leu and Boissy, the forest of Enghien and some other property, valued at a million of francs (40,000*l.*). Fearing that these bequests might be contested after the death of her benefactor, she resolved to secure the powerful protection of the Orleans family, by inducing the Duc de Bourbon to nominate the Duc d'Aumale, third son of Louis-Philippe, his general heir and residuary legatee. The prospect of so rich an inheritance induced Louis-Philippe and his Duchess to pay the most assiduous court to this profligate woman. They wrote to her in terms of affection and respect, almost treating her as an equal. "I am very much touched, Madame," wrote the Duchess, "by what you tell me of your anxiety to bring about that result which you look on as likely to fulfil the wishes of M. le Duc de Bourbon; and believe me, if I have the happiness to find my son become his adopted child, you will receive from us at all times and under all circumstances, that support for you and yours which you are pleased to demand, and of which a mother's gratitude will be for you a sure guarantee."

The Duc de Bourbon long refused to consent to this arrangement, but worn out by the importunities of the Baroness, he signed the will in favour of the Duc d'Aumale, August 30th, 1829; and Louis-Philippe acknowledged the service rendered to his family in a

letter which is strongly tinged with the traces of a mean and mercenary spirit.*

Though deeply grieved by the misfortunes of Charles X., it does not appear that the Duc de Bourbon's mind was so affected by the calamities of the Royal Family as to justify any suspicions of his insanity. On the 20th of August he received a visit from the Queen of the French, who came to relieve his anxiety by telling him of the embarkation at Cherbourg, and on the 25th of the same month he celebrated the anniversary of his saint's day, exhibiting great delight at the testimonies of respect he received from his

* The following extract from the letter written by the Duke of Orleans, to the Baroness, will shew that we have not described it too harshly.

"Our little D'Aumale has been somewhat unwell, but not so much so as to cause us any alarm; but he has had a fever in consequence of over-fatigue, and we believe of exposure to cold. We sent to Clermont for M. Lavoit, who is at the head of the *Ecole de Médecine*, and of the great hospital, and who is very skilful. He confirmed us in the opinion, that there was really nothing serious in the matter. In fact, the fever has left him these two days. He may be considered quite recovered from this transient indisposition, and on his return he will certainly be able to go and see his godfather, whenever he shall have the goodness to permit him.

"Receive, Madame, the very sincere assurance of all the sentiments you know I entertain for you, and on which I trust you ever rely.

(Signed): L.-PH. D'ORLEANS.

"Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans, and my sister, request me to present you all their compliments, and we all beg you to present ours to M. le Duc de Bourbon."

tenantry and the authorities of St. Leu. On the morning of the 26th, he had a sharp dispute with the Baroness—a circumstance, which had recently become common; but they soon became reconciled. The Count de Cossé dined that day at the château; but quitted about nine to return to Paris, though earnestly pressed by the Prince to remain all night. After the Count's departure, the Prince played a few games of cards, and on retiring to his chamber, gave orders that he should be called at eight in the morning.

In the morning the servants having vainly called and knocked at the door, burst it open, when they found the Duke dead. His body was imperfectly suspended by a handkerchief to the window-frame; but his feet touched the ground, and the handkerchief was so folded as to be ill-adapted for ensuring strangulation. The official inquiry into these suspicious circumstances terminated in a verdict of suicide; but there were and are many who believe that the Duke was first stifled by the Baroness, and then hung up to the window. The King of the French, however, shielded the Baroness, who after a very brief examination was not only dismissed in safety, but was invited to Court, and honoured with a reception which scandalized all Paris.

At this period there existed two governments in Paris, that of Louis-Philippe, and that of the clubs; the former cautious, calculating, and reserved; the latter, noisy, passionate, and full of propagandist zeal. The clubs meditated a proselytism of Europe, the

extension of the frontier of France to the Rhine, and an active support of the democratic principle in Spain and Italy. The Revolution in Belgium was produced by the emissaries of French propagandism, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Louis-Philippe prevented this excitement from leading to a general war of principles throughout Europe.

The arrest of four of the ministers of Charles X. in their attempt to escape, exposed the new government to much peril. Their heads were demanded by infuriate mobs, who were secretly instigated by the leaders of the Jacobin party, disappointed by the results of the Revolution, and eager to find an opportunity of exciting new disturbances.

Louis-Philippe was resolved that his reign should not be inaugurated with blood. He had a law proposed abolishing the punishment of death for political offences, and though this proposition was withdrawn as a concession to popular clamour, the reflections suggested during the discussion brought over many of the middle classes to the side of those who had resolved to save Polignac and his colleagues from the scaffold. The ex-ministers were tried before the Chamber of Peers and convicted of treason against the Charter and Constitution; but as the existing laws provided no punishment for this crime, the Peers assumed legislative functions with very doubtful propriety, and pronounced a sentence at their own discretion. Polignac was condemned to imprisonment for life and civil death; the three others to imprison-

ment for the same term, and to privation of their ranks, titles, and orders. Fortunately, the prisoners had been secretly removed to Vincennes before the sentence was pronounced, otherwise they would either have been assassinated by the mob, or a sanguinary collision would have taken place between the military and the exasperated Revolutionists. This success ensured the peaceful triumph of the Revolution, and gave to the throne of Louis-Philippe all the stability that could be derived from the establishment of law and order.

CHAPTER VIII.

STATE OF PARTIES ON THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE.— RESIGNATION OF LAFAYETTE. — LETTER TO HIM FROM THE KING. — DUPONT DE L'EURE. — ELEVATION OF PRINCE LEOPOLD OF SAXE COBOURG TO THE THRONE OF BELGIUM. — HIS MARRIAGE. — THE ASSASSINATION OF THE DUC DE BERRI COMMEMORATED. — TUMULT ARISING FROM IT. — RUSE OF M. ETIENNE.— ARAGO. — LAFITTE. — CASIMIR PÉRIER.— REVOLT AT LYONS.—FUNERAL OF GENERAL LAMARQUE.—THE DUCHESSE DE BERRI. —HER CAPTURE. — FIRST ATTEMPT AGAINST THE LIFE OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE. — FAILURE OF LAFITTE. — DEATH OF LAFAYETTE. — THE MINISTRY AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.—ATTEMPT OF FIESCHI, AND OF LOUIS ABBAUD.—MINISTRY OF THIERS, AND OF COUNT MOLÉ AND GUIZOT. —MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS. — CALAMITY ATTENDING ITS CELEBRATION. — DEATH OF TALLEYRAND. — TRIAL OF MENNIER. — RECEPTION OF MARSHAL SOULT IN ENGLAND.—LOUIS-PHILIPPE: HIS MINISTRY AND THE NATION.— THE FIVE GREAT POWERS AND THE EASTERN QUESTION. — ABORTIVE ATTEMPT OF PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON. — THE ASSASSIN DARMES. — PACIFIC POLICY OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE.—FATAL ACCIDENT TO THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—SYMPATHY OF THE PEOPLE FOR THE KING.—POLICY OF GUIZOT.

In the Revolution of 1830, as in that of 1848, the citizens of Paris may be said to have been neutral through the greater part of the contest. The victory was won by the operatives of the Faubourgs, largely recruited from the dangerous classes of felons, mendicants, and vagrants, who abound in every great capital. But in 1830, the middle and higher classes had succeeded in obtaining the direction of affairs before the contest finally closed, and they had taken advantage of the opportunity to secure the permanence of Mon-

archy as a type of law and order. Still there was a very numerous Republican party, which, after recovering from its first surprise, felt indignant at the inadequate results of the Revolution, and plots for the subversion of the throne established in July began to be formed in Paris before December.

Two very distinct parties had combined for the elevation of Louis-Philippe; the party of the Movement, which had reluctantly accepted Royalty because they believed it impossible to obtain a Republic, and the Conservative party, which sought Monarchy for its own sake as the only sure protection against the horrors of anarchy.

Among the leaders of the Movement were Dupont de l'Eure, Lafayette, and Odillon Barrot. These earnestly desired a large measure of electoral reform at home; while they were anxious that France should actively support the cause of liberty and nationality in Belgium, Poland, and Italy. They proclaimed it to be their purpose to surround the Monarchy with Republican institutions — in fact, to render Monarchy nothing better than an empty name.

Opposed to these, were the Conservatives and Constitutionalists, whose object it was to preserve the peace of Europe at every sacrifice short of the immediate honour and interests of France, to secure sufficient administrative strength to the Government, and to check vigorously all the anarchical tendencies which necessarily spring from a revolution. To this party belonged Casimir Périer, Guizot, Thiers, Molé, and, in fact, almost every man who had any pretensions to

statesmanship in France. Louis-Philippe was naturally disposed to take part with the Conservatives; but circumstances compelled him to temporise with the men of the movement, to whom he had chiefly been indebted for his throne.

Lafayette's position was anomalous. He held the irresponsible command of the National Guard, and thus seemed to be placed as a Viceroy over his Sovereign; he spoke of himself as the great security for public liberty, declaring that he could and would dictate conditions to the Court if freedom should be menaced; but he added that he would severely repress illegal disorders, which could only bring disgrace on the Revolution. On the 24th of December, the title and office of Commander of the National Guards were abolished by the Chamber of Deputies. Lafayette was dismissed, but a clause was added, allowing the King to continue him in the honorary command by a new ordonnance. The old General was inexpressibly surprised and mortified on receiving this intelligence. He instantly forwarded a formal letter of resignation to the King. Louis-Philippe replied to him in the following characteristic terms.

"I this moment receive, my dear General, your letter, which has equally pained and surprised me through the decision you have come to. *I have not yet had time to read the newspapers.* The Council of Ministers assembles at one o'clock; I shall then be at liberty, that is to say, between four and five, when I hope to see and make you recall your determination."

No one knew better than Lafayette that Louis-Philippe interfered in every deliberation of his cabinet. He therefore, not unjustly, regarded the reference to the newspapers as an insult, and when he went to the palace he could not disguise his feelings of excitement and irritation. This imprudence enabled the Conservatives to throw all the blame of the rupture upon the pride and obstinacy of M. Lafayette, and thus the Court had a double triumph, first in his retirement, and secondly in the complexion they had contrived to make it assume. The following proclamation, published on the 26th of December, greatly tended to turn the tide of public opinion against M. Lafayette.

"BRAVE NATIONAL GUARDS, MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN, —You will participate in my sorrow on learning that General Lafayette has thought fit to give in his resignation. I flattered myself with the hope of seeing him longer at your head, animating your zeal by his example, and by the recollection of the great services he has rendered to the cause of liberty. His retirement affects me the more sensibly because again, a few days ago, the excellent General took a glorious part in the maintenance of that public order which you have so nobly and so efficaciously protected during the last agitations. I have the consolation of thinking that I have neglected nothing to avert from the National Guard what will be for it a subject of lively sorrow, and for myself a real affliction.

"LOUIS-PHILIPPE."

This affectation of regret was not altogether successful. Dupont de l'Eure immediately resigned the Ministry of Justice, and the party of the Movement prepared to organise themselves as a Parliamentary Opposition.

Belgium, separated from Holland, became an independent kingdom. Its crown was offered to the Duc de Nemours, second son of the King of the French; but Louis-Philippe rejected an arrangement which would have given deep umbrage to the Allied Powers. Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, widower of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, was then selected; and soon after his elevation to the throne, he married a daughter of Louis-Philippe, and thus became as closely connected with the Royal Family of France as he was with that of England. In Poland the insurgents, after a desperate struggle, found themselves unable to resist the overwhelming forces of Russia; and the liberals of Italy, acting with their usual rashness and incapacity, were crushed wherever they ventured to make demonstration. Supported in his policy of non-intervention by the almost unanimous voice of the middle classes throughout France, Louis-Philippe steadily applied himself to the consolidation of his dynasty, and, conscious of his increasing strength, shewed himself daily more hostile to Republican innovations.

The folly of the Legitimatists—or, as they were then called, the Carlists—tended greatly to strengthen the new monarchy. They saw the growing aliena-

tion between the Monarchists and the Republicans, which not only inspired them with confidence, but filled them with presumption. The *Gazette de France* and the *Quotidienne*, their principal organs, announced that on the 14th of February, the anniversary of the assassination of the Duc de Berri, a solemn commemorative service would be celebrated in the church of St. Roch. The curé of that church, however, having reason to dread that such a demonstration would provoke a riot, prohibited the service but the curé of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, an old man who had attended Marie Antoinette to the scaffold, proffered the use of his church, and agents were stationed on the steps of St. Roch to distribute cards to all comers, giving notice of the change. A great number of brilliant equipages soon thronged the avenues leading to St. Germain l'Auxerrois. The sacred edifice was filled by fashionable crowds; the funeral service was celebrated with great solemnity; a collection was made for the benefit of the soldiers of the Royal Guards who had been wounded during the three days of July; and just as the ceremony was approaching its conclusion, a young man went up to the *catafalque* which had been erected in the middle of the church, and suspended from it a lithographic portrait of the Duc de Bourdeaux. This was followed by some manifestations of the theatrical enthusiasm for which Frenchmen are so conspicuous. Some zealous Carlists placed a crown of *immortelles* over the por-

trait, and military men hung their decorations around it.

But, in the meantime, there had assembled in the Place St. Germain l'Auxerrois, from all quarters of Paris, the turbulent, the discontented, and the revolutionary, attracted by the report of a Carlist and priestly plot. News of what was doing in the church spread rapidly, and the story passed from mouth to mouth with harsh comments and malicious exaggerations. Imprecations were soon heard: acts of violence were menaced. The prefect of police, hastening to the spot, found that the congregation had dispersed, but that the tumult was rapidly increasing. It was with the utmost difficulty that he rescued a young man, mistaken by the crowd for a Jesuit, from being thrown into the Seine. But he could not save the church: the sacred edifice was taken by storm, and the most scandalous impieties were perpetrated within its walls. To pull down the altar, break the pulpit, dash the balustrades and the confessionals to pieces, tear the religious paintings and trample the rich hangings under foot, was the work of a moment. People laughed, yelled, and challenged each other to daring acts of indecency. Some blasphemed God,—all howled curses against the priests. The sacristy was taken by assault; its richest treasures fell into the hands of savage buffoons, some of whom were seen dancing in sacerdotal vestments. Night alone put an end to these saturnalia of sacrilege.

Immediately after the rescue of the supposed Jesuit, the prefect of police hastened to the Palais Royal. He found the King perfectly composed, and was invited to stay to dinner. Some judicious precautions were taken to preserve the peace of Paris during the night; but all feared some fresh explosion on the morrow, though none could tell where its fury would burst forth. Early in the morning the mob had assailed the archbishop's palace, and were in full possession of it before the authorities were aware of the enterprise. A body of strong men, laying hold of the iron grating, had bent it in two by a sudden wrench. In the twinkling of an eye the invaders were in the apartments; the mirrors and lustres were shivered to pieces, the pictures shattered, the furniture broken up, and the woodwork torn from the walls; broad surfaces of wall fell flat in an instant, as if by some magic force; rare books, costly manuscripts, rich crucifixes, missals, vestments, and ornaments of every kind, were flung out of the windows. The thought of pilfering never occurred to any one, but all were possessed with a raging appetite for destruction. Never was devastation more extraordinary, more complete, more rapid or more joyously infatuate; for the whole work was done amidst a tremendous uproar of laughter, jokes, and yells.

From the sack of the archbishop's palace the infuriate mob rushed to the cathedral of Notre Dame, which was only protected by a few National Guards.

M. E. Arago, who had brought up a company of the Guards, was unable to obtain a passage and was forced to have recourse to stratagem. Having posted his men with suitable orders in a side-street, he made his way to the open space in front of the cathedral, passing through the crowd, over whom he towered by a whole head, and pointing upwards, he exclaimed, "You see that cross rocking and tottering under repeated blows; the distance makes it appear small, but in reality its size is enormous. Will you wait till it falls, and brings down with it, as it certainly will, that heavy iron balustrade? For God's sake get out of the way, or this night many a son will be fatherless, and many a wife widowed." So saying, M. Arago ran away as if terrified: the alarmed crowd followed his example; the National Guards seized on the abandoned space, guarding all its issues; the cathedral was saved, and the tumult was at an end.

The citizens of Paris, equally dreading the Carlists and the Republicans, surpassed the King himself in their hostility to innovations designed to strengthen the democracy. Laffitte, who was pledged to Republican institutions, found that he was only prime minister in name: important resolutions were taken and acted upon without his being consulted. He felt that he had not the confidence of the King; he saw that he was coldly received by his colleagues, and he retired from office deeply wounded at having vainly sacrificed his hopes of a Republic to the dynasty of the House of Orleans.

Casimir Périer was his successor. He was a man of courage, firmness, dexterity, and the highest order of administrative talent. His colleagues and the Chambers equally learned to recognise his supremacy: he established a rigorous discipline over all public functionaries, and he gave the executive a unity and vigour of action greater than it had ever known since the days of the Restoration.

The foreign and domestic policy of Casimir Périer was decidedly anti-republican; but he steadfastly maintained the honour of France. A naval armament was sent by his orders to avenge the wrongs which Don Miguel had inflicted on two Frenchmen resident in Portugal. A French squadron entered the Tagus, silenced the fire of the forts, and anchoring within three hundred yards of the quay of Lisbon, compelled the usurper to make reparation and the most humble apologies. The cause of Monarchy,—everywhere shaken in Europe by the Revolution of 1830, had recovered all its strength at the close of 1831; and the glory of this result, so essential to the peace of the world, must chiefly be ascribed to Casimir Périer.

A formidable insurrection at Lyons came upon the ministers unawares. The revolt was raised not in the name of Henry V., Napoleon II., nor yet for a Republic; it was simply a strike for wages,—an attempt on the part of the workmen to establish a compulsory tariff of remuneration for labour at their own discretion. Economic science demonstrates that

the rate of wages depends neither on the will of the masters nor on that of the operatives, but on the relations between demand and supply, which are beyond the control of both. Now, the demand for the silk manufactures of Lyons, the staple production of that city, had been greatly diminished by the establishment of silk factories in Switzerland, in the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, in England, and in various parts of France itself. To meet this competition the Lyonese manufacturers had been obliged to lower their prices and their profits; they were, of course, compelled to lessen the wages of their workmen in the same proportion, but the operatives attributed this inevitable result to some fraud on the part of the manufacturers,—a delusion in which they were encouraged by the St. Simonians and other pretenders to philosophy, who declared that society could be constructed on a basis which would ensure an equal, or nearly an equal, distribution of comforts to all classes. Such mischievous nonsense, zealously promulgated by the Communists of France and Germany, the Chartists of England and Scotland, the Mitchellites of Ireland, and the Trades' Unions everywhere, has been the great social evil of our age. It is nothing better than an attempt to realise the fable of "the belly and its members," to confiscate the property of the rich and distribute it among the poor; to put an end to that accumulation of capital which is necessary to the very existence of all reproductive industry.

The insurgents triumphed at Lyons, and had possession of the city for about three days; but they could organise nothing; and the delegates whom they placed at their head, unable to check anarchy, abandoned their posts. Revolt was not suppressed; it fell to pieces of itself. In spite of this warning, Socialist and Republican plots were organised in various parts of France, but chiefly in Paris. Their enterprises, however, were disconcerted by the police, and some of the leaders being brought to trial were convicted, but were treated with a leniency which tended to encourage new offenders. A Legitimatist conspiracy, badly organised and worse conducted, exploded about the same time, and, like all abortive plots, only served to add strength to the government.

Casimir Périer's work was complete. The Orleans dynasty was fixed, as it seemed, permanently on the throne, when a mortal disease struck the great minister, and his public labours, which he never abandoned, hastened his end. He died on the 16th of May, leaving behind him the impression that the Monarchy entrusted to his firm hands was about to be exposed to new and impending dangers.

The funeral of General Lamarque, on the 5th of June, became the signal for a bold enterprise of the Republicans against the Monarchy. For some time success seemed to favour the insurgents: several posts were taken, barricades were erected, and the operatives of the Faubourgs were roused to action; but the National Guards and the troops of the line, firmly ad-

hered to the cause of Royalty, law, and order. The insurgents, who fought with the most desperate courage, were crushed, and the citizens of Paris became for several years the most bitter enemies of Republicanism in any shape or form.

About the same time, the Duchesse de Berri, having secretly landed in France under the most romantic circumstances, made a vigorous but unsuccessful attempt to raise a Legitimatist revolt in La Vendée for the purpose of placing her son on the throne as Henry V. She failed, and was compelled to wander from place to place as a fugitive; but her presence in France continued to excite alarm, especially as there was reason to apprehend a coalition between the Legitimatists and the Republicans, which would very likely be strengthened by the adhesion of the Buonapartists, who could no longer have a motive for preserving their existence as a party in consequence of the recent death of the Duc de Reichstadt, or, as they loved to call him, Napoleon II.

The circumstances of the times seemed to require a strong ministry, and on the 11th of October it was announced that a new cabinet had been formed under the auspices of Soult (Duke of Dalmatia), which included amongst its members MM. de Broglie, Thiers, and Guizot. This was unquestionably the strongest administration which could be formed at the time; but that very fact was a source of annoyance to the King who wished both to reign and to govern, and who feared that he might be reduced to play a passive part

if anything approaching to a compact alliance should be formed between three such ministers as Broglie, Thiers, and Guizot.

The Duchesse de Berri, carefully concealed at Nantes, and securely guarded by the fidelity of her partisans, felt acutely the dangers to which the brave men were exposed whom she had induced to take part in her abortive insurrection. She addressed a pathetic letter to her aunt, the Queen of the French, soliciting her intercession in their behalf;* but it was returned unopened, and very soon after the Duchess's hiding-place

* The following is a copy of this interesting letter:—

"Whatever consequences may result to me, from the position in which I have placed myself, whilst fulfilling my duties as a mother, I will never speak to you, Madam, of my own interests; but brave men have become involved in danger for my son's sake, and I cannot forbear from attempting whatever may be done with honour, in order to save them.

"I therefore entreat my aunt, whose goodness of heart and religious sentiments are known to me, to exert all her influence in their behalf. The bearer of this letter will furnish details respecting their situation; he will state, that the judges given them are men against whom they have fought.

"Notwithstanding the actual difference in our positions, a volcano is also under your feet, Madam, as you know. I knew your alarm, your very natural alarm, at a period when I was in safety, and I was not insensible to it. God alone knows what He destines for us, and perhaps you will one day thank me for having had confidence in your goodness, and for having given you an opportunity of exerting it in behalf of my unfortunate friends. Rely on my gratitude. I wish you happiness, Madam, for I think too highly of you to believe it possible that you can be happy in your present situation.

"Marie Caroline."

was betrayed to the authorities by a renegade Jew, named Deutz, in whom she had placed unlimited confidence. Deutz discovered the house, but not the part of it in which the Duchess was concealed. This was a recess formed by an angle in the wall at the end of the Duchess's chamber, the entrance to which was hidden by an iron plate in the back of the chimney. So well was it contrived that it remained undiscovered for several hours, though sappers and masons were employed to sound the walls, and break open every partition which appeared suspicious. At length, one of the grenadiers kindled a fire in the stove with peat and some old newspapers; the iron plate became red-hot; the Duchess and two companions, on the point of suffocation, could hold out no longer; they shouted to the guard; the fire was removed, the recess opened, and the Duchess, though made a close prisoner, was treated with all the respect due to fallen royalty.

An unexpected event threw an air of ridicule over this romance, The Princess was confined in the castle of Blaye, where it was soon discovered that she was advanced in pregnancy. She gave birth to a daughter, and after her accouchement signed a declaration that she had been privately married in Italy to Count Hector Luchese Palli, gentleman of the bedchamber to her brother, the King of Naples. This lapse having deprived the Princess of all political influence or power of exciting new disturbances, the French government gladly embraced the opportunity of setting her at

liberty. Immediately after her recovery she was put on board a French vessel, and conveyed with her infant and attendants to Sicily.

Soon after this event a shot was fired by an unknown person at the King of the French on his way to open the parliamentary session. This was the first of a long series of attempts at assassination, from which Louis-Philippe seemed to escape as if by miracle. The crime being generally attributed to the extreme Republicans, greatly increased the odium into which that party had fallen, and at the same time the ministers obtained great popularity by sending an army into Belgium, and compelling the Dutch to surrender the citadel of Antwerp. The young Duke of Orleans had accompanied the army: he behaved with great gallantry, and won not merely the respect, but the warm affection both of officers and soldiers.

The failure of Lafitte, and the announcement that his splendid hotel, where the Monarchy of July had been organised, was about to be sold, produced a great excitement, not only in France but throughout Europe. It was said, that the failure of this eminent banker was owing to the harshness of Louis-Philippe, who had advanced large sums to Lafitte, but had at the same time taken effective measures to secure repayment. A sharp controversy arose; but the circumstances evolved had little interest. It appeared that Louis-Philippe exhibited no generosity, and a very measured share of gratitude to the man to whom he was mainly indebted for his throne; but the King

certainly did not use any harsh measures, and Lafitte shewed himself too ready to allow his complaints to be turned to the worst purposes of faction by the Republican party. Louis-Philippe's love of money is unquestionable; but on this occasion he took no steps beyond the ordinary precautions which would be adopted by a methodical man of business.

The Republicans had not yet abandoned hope: they raised a new revolt at Lyons in April 1834, which was not suppressed until a large part of the city inhabited by the operatives had been laid in ruins, and a greater number of the insurgents slain than in the former insurrection. Some other abortive efforts to excite rebellion failed in the very outset; but the Jacobin clubs, now organised as secret societies, persevered everywhere in their treasonable designs, and in spite of severe laws of repression, a licentious press applauded their efforts and vindicated even the most atrocious principles.

There were some serious disturbances at Paris; but they were suppressed by judicious firmness, tempered with clemency. Hardly less important than these victories was the death of Lafayette, who had been long the head and hope of the republican faction. The last three years of his life were spent in plotting the subversion of the Orleans dynasty, which he had himself inaugurated. The greater part of his life had been a series of grave errors and bitter disappointments. He hoped to have emulated, and attained the fame of Washington; but he had the mortification

to find himself invariably distrusted as a statesman and discredited as a soldier.

Forced into active warfare with the Republican party, the French ministry exhibited great courage and spirit. Repressive laws were easily obtained from the legislature, and the most active of the conspirators were brought to trial before the Chamber of Peers. The proceedings, which commenced on the 5th of April, 1835, did not terminate until the 17th of the following August; and in the meantime the Parisian conspirators, the worst and most dangerous of all, contrived to make their escape by a subterranean passage from the prison of St. Pelagie, in which they were confined.

The Republican party was thus apparently crushed; but the desperate fanaticism of the Jacobins survived, and plots were formed for the assassination of the King, one of which very nearly succeeded. On the 28th of July, the second of the days of rejoicing appointed to commemorate the Revolution of July, a review of the troops and of the National Guards formed a leading part of the proceedings. Accompanied by his three sons and a brilliant staff, Louis-Philippe rode through the lines of the National Guard, extending along the whole line of the Boulevards, and was everywhere received with loyal manifestations. Suddenly, as he reached the Boulevard du Temple, an explosion like a discharge of musketry took place from the window of a house overlooking the line of procession. The effect was terrific. Fourteen persons

including Marshal Mortier and General Verigny, fell dead, and about forty other persons were wounded more or less severely. Yet the objects of this indiscriminate slaughter escaped; — the King and the Princes were unhurt. The police, guided by the smoke, rushed into the house whence the explosion had proceeded. They seized a man covered with blood and begrimed with powder, who was in the act of letting himself down by a rope from the back window of the apartment. He was himself severely wounded by the bursting of some of the barrels of his "infernal-machine," and his wounds had delayed his escape.

The machine consisted of twenty-five musket-barrels, laid horizontally on a frame, the back part of which could be raised or lowered according to the angle requisite to reach and sweep the space below. Each barrel was loaded with deadly missiles; the touch-holes communicated by means of a train of powder, and the lighting of one simultaneously discharged all. The window at a little distance from which the machine was placed, stood open; but the machine itself had been screened from observation by Persian blinds, which were not removed until the moment of explosion. It is probable that the assassin had miscalculated the time necessary to remove the blinds, and that this circumstance saved the King; for the discharge took place immediately behind him, one of the bullets having actually wounded his horse. A momentary stupor followed the explosion; but as

soon as it was known that neither the King nor the Princes were hurt, it gave place to tumultuous expressions of joy, mingled with fury against the author of the crime. The forms of the review were gone through by the King, but the rejoicings of the revolutionary anniversary were suspended, the tri-coloured flag was veiled in crape, the victims of the massacre were buried with the honours of a public funeral, which the King and his family attended, and pensions were voted by the Chambers to the poor persons who had been wounded, and the relatives of those who had been slain.

On investigation, it was found that the assassin was a Corsican, named Fieschi, who had gone through many disreputable vicissitudes:—having once been a soldier,—he had stood in the pillory for forgery,—had been imprisoned two years for theft—had been a spy of the police, and had been implicated in an attempt to seize the artillery, in one of the abortive insurrections in Paris. He avowed the most atrocious Jacobin principles, and a fanatical hatred of the King personally, making no attempt to deny his guilt. It appeared on his trial that two persons as obscure as himself, had been privy to his enterprise; but it was not found possible to trace any connection between him and any extensive conspiracy. Still, the ministers introduced a bill to facilitate trials for treason; another, to allow juries the right of secret voting, and a third, adding new restrictions to the fetters already imposed on the press. These measures were not only

accepted by the chambers, but new enactments were added which greatly increased their severity.

On the 25th of June, 1836, the King had another narrow escape. He had just quitted the Tuilleries, on his way to Neuilly, when a walking-stick gun was discharged into the royal carriage, at the moment when his Majesty was bending forward to return the salute of the guard. This movement saved his life; the ball passed behind his head, but some of the wadding lodged in his hair. The assassin was instantly seized. His name was found to be Louis Abbaud, and when interrogated he replied, "The head of the conspiracy, is my head; its accomplices are my arms." He avowed his purpose to kill the King with resolute boldness. "Since the King," said he, "declared Paris in a state of siege, since he sought to govern instead of reigning; since he caused the citizens to be massacred in the streets of Lyons and in the Cloître St. Mery, his reign has become a reign of blood, an infamous reign, and that is the reason I sought to kill him." He met his death with great firmness, and some of the more violent Jacobins did not hesitate to express commiseration for his fate.

Various modifications of the ministry gave M. Thiers the chief direction of affairs; but, after having held the reins of power about nine months, he failed to induce the King to support the course of policy which he deemed it advisable to pursue in Spain, and he therefore tendered his resignation. It was accepted, and a new ministry was formed, at the

head of which was Count Molé, M. Guizot being also a member of the cabinet. Scarcely had these arrangements been completed, when an attack was made upon the Monarchy from an unexpected quarter. Louis Buonaparte, only surviving son of the ex-King of Holland, nephew and nearest heir to the great Napoleon, resolved to bring about, if possible, a restoration of the Empire. On the 30th of October, supported by some soldiers who still fondly remembered the name of the Emperor, he made an attempt to sieze Strasbourg, and at first obtained considerable success. The Finkmatt barracks, occupied by the 46th regiment of the line, was the great object of the conspirators, and they advanced in the hope that the magic of Napoleon's name would at once win over its garrison. Some of the soldiers appeared ready to embrace his cause; but suddenly a rumour spread among them that it was an impostor who now appeared in the name of Napoleon. The officers, faithful to Louis-Philippe, advanced on Buonaparte and his adherents, who were seized and disarmed; and this strange enterprise was begun and ended in about two hours. Louis Buonaparte was sent to Paris; but it had been resolved that he should not be brought to trial. He was conveyed in a royal ship to America, after having, as it is said, pledged himself to remain for ten years in that country. He has, however, constantly denied that any such promise was given or implied.

The year 1836 closed with the death of the exiled

Charles X. at Goritz in Styria. All the reigning Houses of Europe put on the mourning prescribed by etiquette, except the House of Orleans.

Molé commenced his administration by measures well calculated to win popularity. He released Prince Polignac from his captivity, and permitted him to retire from France; he granted an amnesty to the State-prisoners who had not been too deeply implicated in the recent disturbances; and he brought to a successful issue the negotiations for the marriage of the Duke of Orleans. M. Thiers had at first endeavoured to match the Duke with a Princess of the House of Austria; but he found the obstacles to such an arrangement insuperable. On quitting office, he said to his successor, "The marriage of the Duke of Orleans is to be concluded, and it is proposed to give the Prince for a wife either the Duchess Helena of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, or a Princess of Coburg. The former is more intelligent, though less beautiful; the faculties of the latter are less developed: she is very young, and has scarcely ceased playing with her doll."*

Princess Helena of Mecklenburg had a high and merited reputation for cultivated intelligence and moral worth: it was therefore resolved that she should be sought for the heir to the crown. The negotiation was conducted with remarkable address by M. Bresson;† but its success was long uncertain,

* The Princess of Coburg was subsequently united to the Duc de Nemours.

† Afterwards employed to negotiate the Spanish marriages.

for Russia left nothing untried to defeat the efforts of the Court of France. In fact, but for the obliging interposition of the King of Prussia, a petty German Prince would have refused to bestow the hand of his sister on the heir to one of the greatest monarchies in Europe. The Princess was a Lutheran, and this was a subject of uneasiness to the Queen of the French, who was rather deeply tinged with Neapolitan bigotry. Louis-Philippe, however, felt no such scruples, and was rather pleased to find an opportunity of manifesting the extent of his religious tolerance.

On the 29th of May the Princess reached Fontainbleau, and was most affectionately received by the whole Royal Family. The marriage was celebrated next day according to the rites both of the Catholic and Lutheran Churches. On the 4th of June the Royal Family returned to Paris, where the new Princess was received with the most gratifying enthusiasm. On the 10th, Louis-Philippe opened the Museum of Versailles, with its long galleries of pictures, portraits, and statues, which constitute, in fact, a history of France embodied in the works of her artists.

But the joys of the Royal Family were not destined to remain unalloyed with bitterness; on the 14th of June the citizens of Paris thronged the Champ de Mars to witness a grand military spectacle including a representation of the storming of the citadel of Antwerp. Everything proceeded in perfect order so long as the spectacle lasted, but when the multitude

began to disperse, several of the narrow issues from the Champ de Mars were choked up by excessive crowds; numbers were thrown down and heaped upon each other, and twenty-four persons of different ages were trampled down and smothered. The Duke and Duchess of Orleans exhibited the greatest possible kindness to the families of the victims; but nothing could dispel the gloom which fell upon the public mind; men remembered that a similar calamity saddened the festivities with which the marriage of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette had been celebrated.

Algeria was an expensive possession to France. It was only retained at an enormous loss of blood and treasure. The French and the Arabs vied with each other in massacres and brutalities; the war, in short, was so conducted as to be a disgrace to civilised humanity.

But the attention of France was directed from these painful scenes by discussions which first raised fatal dissensions between Louis-Philippe and the *bourgeoisie*. The King demanded from the nation large dowries for his daughters, and splendid dotations for his sons. A struggle was thus commenced between an avaricious King and his rather penurious subjects; M. Molé felt uncertain about obtaining a majority, and towards the close of 1837 he dissolved the Chambers. A new election gave him rather an uncertain majority, but in the first parliamentary conflict—the vote of funds for secret services—the ministers enjoyed a decided triumph.

About this time Paris was agitated by a report that Talleyrand, now approaching his 84th year, was anxious to be reconciled to Christianity and the Church. His sincerity was suspected, for his powers of dissimulation had become one of the great scandals of history. All doubts were removed when he published a letter to the Pope abjuring his past life, and confessing his errors with timorous humility. The public retractation imposed on the old man who had celebrated the great Republican mass in the Champ de Mars, gave great offence to all who respected revolutionary traditions, and roused their utmost indignation. But Talleyrand was fast escaping from controversy. On the 17th of May, symptoms of approaching dissolution became manifest. Louis-Philippe paid him an affectionate visit, and bade the expiring statesman a fond farewell. His confessor having repeated to him these words of the Archbishop of Paris, "For M. de Talleyrand I would give my life," the Prince faintly replied, "He might make a better use of it," and soon after expired.

The trial of Meunier, who had fired at the King when he went to open the Chamber of Deputies, excited no interest, simply because the assassin expressed sorrow for his crime and abstained from those offensive theatrical displays which have too often disgraced State trials in France and Ireland. Meunier's life was spared, the King granting him an unsolicited pardon. This clemency did not put an end to conspiracy; a plot against the King was detected by

accident, in December 1837, and those who had engaged in it were convicted and sentenced to various periods of imprisonment.

Marshal Soult, who was sent as ambassador extraordinary to attend the coronation of Queen Victoria, was received with most enthusiastic welcome by the British people, and this circumstance rendered our Queen personally popular in Paris.

Louis-Philippe's happiness seemed to have reached its consummation when the Duchess of Orleans gave birth to a son, August 24th, 1838, thus apparently ensuring the perpetuation of his dynasty. About the same time, Louis Buonaparte, having returned from America, was refused permission to reside in Switzerland, through the rather ungenerous interference of the French government. He removed to London, and for a time sank into obscurity.

Early in 1839, a powerful coalition headed by Guizot, Thiers, and Odillon Barrot, assailed the Molé ministry, and brought it to the utmost extremity. Louis-Philippe, unwilling to abandon his favourite ministers, had recourse to a dissolution, and France was involved in a fiercer electoral contest than any which had taken place since the Revolution of July. Its result only produced new and more unmanageable combinations of party. Six different attempts to form a cabinet were baffled by the impossibility of reconciling the pretensions of rival leaders. The Republicans, who seemed to have been almost forgotten, took advantage of the crisis to attempt a new insurrection;

but this was easily crushed, for there were not at any time more than three hundred insurgents in arms. Armand Barbés and Blanqui were the only revolters condemned to death, and their sentences were afterwards commuted.

Soult's ministry had given a pledge of its determination to preserve peace with England, by selecting M. Guizot as its ambassador to the Court of St. James's, and it sought to draw closer the bands of amity by a family alliance. The Duc de Nemours, second son of the King of the French, sought the hand of the Princess Victoria Augusta, daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, and cousin to the Queen of England. A question connected with this marriage led to the dissolution of Soult's cabinet. Ministers proposed that half a million of francs (20,000*l.*) should be voted to defray the expenses of the marriage; that an annuity of the same amount should be settled on the Royal Duke during his life, and a pension of three hundred thousand francs (12,000*l.*) on the Duchess, in case she should survive him. A perfect storm of opposition was raised against this proposition without and within the walls of the Chamber. A pamphlet published on the subject by M. de Carmenin, under the assumed name of Timon, assailed the King and his ministers with overwhelming sarcasm. So successful was this *brochure*, that thirty thousand copies were sold within a week. When the committee appointed to prepare the articles of the projected negotiation presented their report, the Deputies, without any debate, by a majority

of 226 to 200, refused even to consider the paragraphs of the proposed measure. This decisive rejection was in a great degree owing to the exertions of M. Thiers, and Louis-Philippe's former dislike of that statesman was heightened into a personal aversion. But ministers having resigned immediately after their defeat, and the Duc de Broglie, Count Molé, and M. Guizot having successively declined to form a cabinet, the King was obliged to submit to M. Thiers and to place him at the head of a new administration.

The popularity which M. Thiers had acquired by resisting the dotation, was greatly increased by his proposition that the Prince de Joinville should be sent to bring home the body of Napoleon Bonaparte from its resting-place in St. Helena, to be interred on the banks of the Seine. The measure was received with acclamations in the Chamber, and was hailed with delight throughout France.

The permanence of the Thiers ministry seemed to be assured, when an unexpected event changed the whole aspect of affairs. The Five Great Powers, England, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, had for some time been engaged in negotiations for settling the Eastern question, by arranging terms of pacification between the Sultan and his nominal vassal, Mehemet Ali, the Pacha of Egypt. Mehemet Ali having obtained possession of the Turkish fleet through the treachery of its admiral, and having reason to expect the support of France, refused to accept the terms of mediation, and the French ministers would not join

in forcing him to submission. The Four Powers then resolved to act of themselves, and a convention was agreed upon in London from which France was not only excluded, but in which she was not even consulted. This apparent discourtesy, which, however, was not unprovoked, threw the French people into a paroxysm of rage, which Thiers and his colleagues laboured to stimulate rather than repress. Royal ordonnances were passed calling into active service 150,000 additional soldiers, 10,000 seamen, five ships of the line, thirteen frigates, and nine steamers. The French press teemed with frantic declamations against England, and every art of faction was employed to excite the national animosity against its ancient rival. It was this excitement which enabled Louis-Philippe to obtain an almost universal assent to his favourite plan of fortifying Paris, and at the same time to throw the responsibility of this very doubtful measure on his obnoxious minister.

When the Chambers were about to meet at the close of the year, Thiers proposed that the King's speech should assume a high and warlike tone, and announce an addition to the army of 150,000 men. Louis-Philippe peremptorily refused to comply, and dismissed his ministry. A new cabinet was formed under the auspices of Soult and Guizot, which was found to have a decisive majority in the Chamber of Deputies, though that body had previously seemed devoted to M. Thiers.

A strange attempt was made in the month of August

by Prince Louis Napoleon Buonaparte, to bring about a revolution in favour of himself and his family. We have seen that he had already made a similar effort at Strasbourg, and had been signally defeated. He hired an English steamer in London, and embarked with Count Montholon, General Voisin, and fifty-three other persons, besides a tame eagle, which was intended to act no unimportant part in the drama. It had been trained to take its food from Louis Napoleon, and it was hoped that if set loose from the vessel when the Prince reached the column erected on the heights above Boulogne in honour of the Emperor Napoleon, that the bird would alight on the column and thus seem an omen of the success of the Revolution. Louis Napoleon and his companions landed at Boulogne at five in the morning of the 6th of August. They marched through the streets shouting "Vive l'Empéreur!" inviting the soldiers to join them, but they could only gain over one recruit, a young lieutenant named Aladenize. Prince Louis marched his scanty band of followers to the Napoleon column, but seeing that the National Guards were beginning to assemble in force, and that his chances were desperate, he attempted to escape to his steamer. He was intercepted on the beach, and captured with all his followers, save one unfortunate man who was swept away by the current while struggling in the waves.

Louis Napoleon was brought to trial before the Peers in the beginning of October, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. After having been confined

for six years in the fortress of Ham, he made his escape in the disguise of a workman and returned to London, where he remained unnoticed and unknown until a series of unexpected events recalled him to become a member of the National Assembly, and ultimately the President of the French Republic. The fact that Louis Napoleon proclaimed his intention of making M. Thiers his minister did not tend to reconcile Louis-Philippe to the presence of that statesman in his cabinet, though there can be no doubt that M. Thiers neither sanctioned nor desired the Prince's enterprise.

The worst result of the policy of M. Thiers in arousing the passion for war throughout France was, that it revived the hopes and stimulated the enterprise of the Republican party. Riotous assemblages of workmen menaced the peace of the capital, and were not dispersed without difficulty; the King's life was attempted by an assassin named Darmes, who boasted of his purpose to remove a tyrant; and a Republican festival near Paris was attended by upwards of six thousand persons, many of whom wore the uniform of the National Guards. Among the toasts given were "the abolition of all privileges," and "democracy, which alone can save France." This feverish excitement threatened the most calamitous results to France and to Europe. It seriously alarmed the *bourgeoisie*, and alienated their body from M. Thiers, whom they had previously supported with great enthusiasm, for having caused the rejection of the obnoxious dotation.

Louis-Philippe had only waited for this change in the public mind to get rid of M. Thiers. The Monarch and the minister parted with feelings of mutual exasperation which almost amounted to hatred; and this animosity, which neither took much trouble to disguise, had at a later period a most fatal influence on the destinies of the monarchy.

Soult was nominally the president of the new ministry, but Guizot was virtually the premier. He saw that the advent of a conservative administration in England could not long be delayed, and he resolved to exert all his powers to establish a conservative policy in France. The King seemed eager to follow the same course, for, when the customary addresses of congratulation were presented to him on New Years Day 1841, he went out of the usual routine of complimentary etiquette for the purpose of giving expression to his pacific sentiments. He appeared anxious to disavow the charge that "France was a cause of perturbation in the midst of Europe," and made use of strong language against the violent menaces of the war-party, which appeared to desire confusion in order to subvert the throne. It deserves also to be noticed, that this was the first time since 1830 that the archbishop and clergy of Paris had appeared at Court to congratulate the Sovereign.

The attempt to assassinate the King by Darmes was followed by another to shoot either the Duke of Orleans or the Duc d'Aumale as they entered Paris. It appeared on the trial that Quénisset, the

assassin, was instigated to this crime by one of the Jacobin clubs; and that the atrocious designs of these clubs were fostered by the exhortations of a licentious press. Prosecutions were instituted against the seditious journals, but it was found very difficult to obtain convictions. The adhesion of France to the treaty of July, one of the earliest measures of the new ministry, had been most unpopular, for it was generally regarded as an act of degrading submission to England. Guizot confronted all these difficulties with iron firmness, and maintained the English alliance with a vigour and talent which won the admiration of Europe. But destiny had prepared a fatal stroke for the dynasty. On the 13th of July, 1842, the Duke of Orleans, who was to have set out in the course of the day to join his Duchess at Plombières, and to take the command of a camp of forty thousand men, paid a farewell visit to the King and Queen at Neuilly. On his return, his horses took fright and threatened to overset the carriage. The Duke jumped out in alarm, but his sword having got entangled in his travelling cloak, he was precipitated on his head, and a concussion of the brain was the consequence. He was borne senseless into a neighbouring house, and medical assistance was procured; but he never recovered consciousness, and he died in the course of the day, surrounded by the members of his afflicted family.

The King had to attend the Chambers while the body of his son lay unburied. Unusual interest was

excited by this meeting between the bereaved father and the representatives of his people. His entrance was greeted with enthusiastic acclamations. He burst into tears and sank down into the chair provided for him, and for some time was quite unable to proceed. Renewed cheering seemed to give him courage. He at last found utterance, but his voice was thick, husky, and broken with agitation. At the end he crossed his arms on his breast and bowed repeatedly to the Chambers in acknowledgment of the affection with which he had been received; he then sank back on his chair, sobbing convulsively, but endeavouring to conceal his emotion with his pocket-handkerchief. The populace cheered him warmly on his return to the palace; and it seemed that his domestic misfortune had recovered for him all his popularity.

In the discussion of the Regency Bill, which gave to the Duc de Nemours the exercise of the Royal authority in case of a minority, and entrusted the personal guardianship of the minor to the Queen and his mother, M. Thiers made a speech so strongly ministerial as to give great offence to the rest of the opposition. In the course of it he offered some remarks which may be regarded as prophetic. "The Ultra Liberals," said he, "are incapable of governing themselves or the country. There is nothing but anarchy amongst them, and they are men incapable of coming to any understanding as to the formation of a government. They are utterly without the

power of keeping order in a country, or of doing anything except repeating the revolutions of forty years ago, without the glory that then attended them."

It was supposed that a coalition would have taken place between Guizot and Thiers; but both underrated, not so much the strength as the audacity of the Republican party. Besides, Guizot's system of policy and administration was chiefly remarkable for unity and concentration. He could not admit of an alliance which would, to some extent, recognise a division of councils. Furthermore, Louis-Philippe not only dreaded a coalition, which would have greatly fettered his intervention in the government, but, as we have said, he personally disliked Thiers, who had not been found very pliable as a minister, nor very forbearing in opposition. On the Spanish question Thiers entertained strong opinions, which were directly opposed to those of the King. Louis-Philippe warmly supported the cause of Queen Christina in opposition to the liberal leaders, who could not endure her peculations, nor her ostentatious violation of decorum in taking for her second husband an obscure adventurer like Munoz, creating him Duke of Rianzares, and bringing the children she had by him, although their legitimacy was questioned, into the palace with the Princesses. When Christina deemed it prudent to quit Madrid for Paris, Louis-Philippe assigned her a royal residence, and is more than suspected of having actively engaged in the intrigues which restored this dangerous woman

to power in Spain. Guizot supported the King in his endeavours to strengthen the Orleans dynasty by family alliances; — this was, the chief cause of his favour, and, remotely, it became the chief cause of his fall.

CHAPTER IX.

FEELING OF THE FRENCH TOWARDS ENGLAND.—ROYAL MARRIAGES.—VISIT OF QUEEN VICTORIA TO LOUIS-PHILIPPE.—NARROW ESCAPE OF THE LATTER AND HIS FAMILY.—RECEPTION OF THE ENGLISH QUEEN AT EU.—THE DUC DE BORDEAUX IN ENGLAND.—AFFAIRS OF TAHITI.—QUEEN POMARÉ AND ADMIRAL DUPETIT THOUARS.—M. D'AUBIGNY AND MR. PRITCHARD.—THE FRENCH WAR WITH MOROCCO.—BOMBARDMENT OF TANGIERS AND MOGADOR BY THE PRINCE DE JOINVILLE.—VISIT OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.—VISIT OF HER MAJESTY TO THE "GOMER."—LETTERS OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE TO THE QUEEN.—SPEECH OF M. GUIZOT ON THE ENGLISH ALLIANCE.—SECOND VISIT OF QUEEN VICTORIA TO LOUIS-PHILIPPE.—HIS LETTERS TO THE COUNT DE JARNAC, AND TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.—CORRUPTION OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.—ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE LOUIS-PHILIPPE BY LE COMPTE AND BY HENRI.—HOW VIEWED BY THE FRENCH PEOPLE.—CHANGE OF THE ENGLISH MINISTRY.—FEELING OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE ON THAT EVENT.—M. GUIZOT, LORD PALMERSTON, AND MR. HENRY BULWER.—GENERAL ELECTION IN FRANCE.

THE suspicious jealousy of England, with which M. Thiers had too successfully laboured to inspire the French people, had greatly abated in 1843; and, though it was partially revived by some untoward events at Tahiti, which we shall have to relate in a future page, the angry passions never reached their former intensity, and were only of brief duration. This better feeling was chiefly owing to the honourable exertions of Marshal Soult and M. Guizot, who braved the entire brunt of popular clamour, organised by a most unscrupulous opposition. It must, how-

ever, be added that their efforts were seconded not only by English statesmen, but by the whole English people; no notice whatever was taken of French petulance, and fury soon burned itself out when treated with the coldness of indifference.

Some marriages took place in the Royal Family of France, which must not be passed over. The Prince de Joinville, third son of Louis-Philippe, whose bellicose pamphlet on the state of the navies of France and England had attracted far more notice than it deserved, was contracted to the Princess Francesca, sister of the Emperor of Brazil and the Queen of Portugal. The Prince went to the Brazils to bring home his bride, and arrived with her at Brest in the month of July.* In the course of the summer, the

* The Prince de Joinville commanded *La Belle Poule*, the frigate which, in 1840, conveyed the remains of the Emperor Napoleon from St. Helena to France. It was generally believed that this tardy tribute of respect to the memory of the deceased Emperor was extorted from Louis-Philippe; but that, after having consented to it, he wished to secure for his son the popularity of such a concession to French reminiscences of military glory. Joinville at the time (1840) is said to have been as hostile to England as Thiers himself, and to have been mortified rather than pleased at the readiness with which the British government not only consented to the removal of the remains, but ordered that all proper honours should be paid to the body by the civil and military authorities in the island. On the 15th of December, 1840, the remains of Napoleon were deposited in the chapel of the Invalids.

Another and different story was also current. It was said that Louis-Philippe was anxious to shew that he had ceased to fear the Buonapartists after the death of the Duc de Reichstadt,

Princess Clementine of France, recently married to the Prince Augustus of Saxe-Coburg, visited England, and was received by Queen Victoria with a warmth of welcome which almost amounted to sisterly affection. After the late Duke of Orleans, Clementine was Louis-Philippe's favourite child, and the gratitude he felt for the kindness of her reception at the Court of St. James's was sincere. He immediately sent two of his sons, the Prince de Joinville and the Duc d'Aumale, to invite Queen Victoria to pay a visit to France, and it was arranged that she should be received at the Château d'Eu, a marine residence of the King of the French on the coast of Normandy. It happened about the time of this visit that Espartero arrived in London, driven from Spain and his office of Regent by the partisans of Queen Christina, whose intrigues were said to be directed by Louis-Philippe himself. Had M. Thiers or Lord Palmerston been in office, this event would probably have revived the same angry discussions as arose out of the Syrian question; but M. Guizot and Lord Aberdeen were more cordially disposed towards each other, and they both resolved that the Spanish question should not interrupt their harmony.

It was expected that Queen Victoria would arrive about the end of August, and Louis-Philippe, who

and had been the first to propose the removal of the Emperor's body; but we have reason to believe that the project emanated from the Prince de Joinville, and was dictated by animosity to England.

felt anxious for her appearance, frequently drove into the little town of Tréport, about two miles from the Château d'Eu, where it was expected that her Majesty would disembark. On one of these occasions, when the King and his family, including the Count de Paris, entered the town in a kind of open carriage, called a *char-à-banc*, the good people of Tréport, hearing that the heir of the Crown was present, resolved to welcome his arrival by a salvo of musketry. Never was a compliment more ill-timed and unpropitious. The horses, startled by the suddenness and loudness of the discharge, echoed as it was from the cliffs all around, took fright, and dashed furiously over a little bridge that spans the river Bresle. The two leaders jumped over the parapet, dragging one of the wheelers after them. His proverbial good-luck still attended Louis-Philippe: the villagers ran up to the carriage just in time to save it; the traces were cut, and three of the horses permitted to fall into the bed of the river. Louis-Philippe exhibited equal coolness and courage during this trying scene; he held his little grandson in his arms, and did not quit the carriage until the rest of the party had alighted in safety.

Queen Victoria embarked at Portsmouth on the 2nd of September in the Royal yacht, convoyed by a powerful squadron. At eight o'clock on the following morning, the approach of the Royal fleet was signalled by the batteries at Tréport. Repeated salutes were fired during the day, until five o'clock in

the afternoon, when English salvos, answering the French, announced that the fleet had come to anchor. Louis-Philippe and his family immediately quitted the Château to receive their visitors. On reaching the harbour, the Queen, Madame Adelaide, and the Princesses, took their station on the pier-head; the children of the late Duke of Orleans, the Count de Paris, the Duc de Chartres, and the Count d'Eu, went to the salute battery; while Louis-Philippe, entering the Royal barge, manned by twenty-four chosen oarsmen, directed his crew to pull for the Royal yacht which bore the Queen of England. In about twenty minutes he was standing on her deck, and the first meeting of the two sovereigns was celebrated by a discharge of artillery from the fleet and batteries. Before the smoke had cleared away, the English Queen and her party had descended into the barge, and were rapidly approaching the shore.

Every possible honour was paid to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert during their residence at Eu, from the 2nd to the 7th of September. Affairs of State were not neglected; the question of the marriages of the Queen of Spain and her sister was frequently but amicably discussed by Louis-Philippe, the King of the Belgians, M. Guizot, and Lord Aberdeen, in the presence of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, who frequently joined in the conversation. On the day before the departure of his guests, Louis-Philippe invested Prince Albert with the *Grand Cordon* of the Legion of Honour, which he wore

that night in the theatre. Rich presents were interchanged, and peace seemed to be cemented between France and England by the personal friendship established between their Sovereigns.

In the course of the autumn the Duc de Bordeaux, the only son of the Duc de Berri, who by the death of Charles X. and the renunciation of the Duc d'Angoulême* had become the legitimate representative of the elder branch of the Bourbons, and consequently, according to the Legitimatists, the rightful heir to the Crown of France, visited England. He came, however, simply as a private gentleman; he did not appear at Court, nor were his pretensions in the slightest degree recognised by the British Government. The young Prince at first prudently abstained from politics; he visited the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle, and the Earl of Shrewsbury at Alton Towers, neither claiming nor receiving Royal honours. But the indiscretion of his French friends, supported by an insignificant portion of the English press, led him to adopt a course not very consistent either with prudence or decency. He took a mansion in Belgrave Square and held levees, which were attended by many of the Carlist Peers of France, by some members of the Chamber of Deputies, and

* The Duc d'Angoulême died at Goritz, June 3rd, 1844. The Duc de Bordeaux did not take this opportunity of urging his claims to the French Crown; he contented himself with sending a protest to the great Powers of Europe, and assumed the private title of Comte de Chambord, by which he has been since generally known.

by delegates from Brittany, who openly recognised him as Henry V., and their rightful Sovereign.

The scandal of these proceedings gave umbrage to the French Court; representations were made on the subject to the English Government, and it was consequently intimated to the Prince that such proceedings rendered his presence offensive. This had the desired effect: the Duc de Bordeaux and his mimic Court quitted England; but the importance which the French Chambers attributed to the ostentatious exhibition of his pretensions was as ridiculous as the exhibition itself.

We must next relate a series of incidents apparently insignificant, which tended at one time to disturb the friendly relations between France and England, and which the war-faction in Paris eagerly embraced as an excuse for increased violence of language against this country, and against the pacific policy of M. Guizot. Protestant missionaries from England and America had for several years been engaged in diffusing the blessings of Christianity and civilisation through the islands of the Pacific Ocean, before their success aroused the emulous zeal of Roman Catholic rivals. The congregation of the Faith, established at Lyons, sent out some missionary priests to Tahiti; but through the influence of the Methodist missionaries at the Court of Queen Pomaré, they were not permitted to land in the island. The French priests went with their complaints to Admiral Dupetit Thouars, who was at the

time much mortified at being obliged to abandon a contemplated settlement in New Zealand to the prior claims of the English. For religion, or anything connected with it, he cared not a jot; but he eagerly embraced a pretext for exhibiting a rancorous hatred to Great Britain. He sailed to Tahiti, and compelled Queen Pomaré to place her dominions under the protection of France. The treaty, concluded on the 9th of September, 1842, was very distasteful to the native Tahitians, and the French experienced considerable hostility, which they attributed to the intrigues of the English missionaries resident in the island.

Dupetit Thouars, after a year's absence, returned to Tahiti in November 1843, and demanded that Queen Pomaré should hoist the French flag over her royal residence, instead of her own. On her refusal to comply, troops and seamen were landed, who removed the Tahitian flag, took possession of the island in the name of the King of the French, and hoisted the tricolour. Admiral Dupetit Thouars then issued a bombastic proclamation, celebrating as a glorious achievement his triumph over a sick woman, installing M. d'Aubigny as governor of Tahiti, and declaring Papiti a free port.

When the intelligence of this achievement reached England, it was received with universal derision. The journals made merry at the expense of French heroism and gallantry, which did not at all tend to soothe the exacerbation of the war-party in France

The French government, thoroughly ashamed of the entire transaction, and aware of the embarrassments it was likely to produce, disavowed the proceedings of the admiral; but before intelligence of this disavowal could reach Tahiti, the intemperate conduct of D'Aubigny, to whom Dupetit Thouars had entrusted the government of the island, had produced a new complication. Mr. Pritchard, who had gone out originally as a missionary, had been appointed British Consul to the Society Islands. As he was deservedly respected by the natives, and confidentially consulted by their chiefs, the French officers chose to look upon him as the chief instigator of the disturbances which broke out from time to time against their authority. On the night of the 2nd of March, 1844, a French sentinel having been attacked and disarmed by the natives, it was determined to make Mr. Pritchard responsible for their acts. He was arrested and thrown into prison; his property was sequestrated, and his life directly menaced in a proclamation of offensive and vulgar virulence which was issued by the governor. Captain Gordon, of the British war-steamer *Gordon*, fortunately interfered; Pritchard was released on condition of his immediately quitting the Society Islands. He was forced to embark on board the Cormorant, without taking leave of his family, and he returned by Valparaiso to England.

Such an outrageous violation of the law of nations excited just indignation in England, and met

little sympathy from any but the most violent of the factions in France itself. M. Guizot disavowed the act of D'Aubigny, sent a full explanation to the English Government, and paid a pecuniary indemnity to Mr. Pritchard, as a compensation for the wrongs and losses he had endured.

A short war with the Emperor of Morocco, who was said to have given secret aid to the indefatigable Abd-el-Kader, tended to gratify the French passion for military glory. Tangiers and Mogador were battered and captured by a naval force, under the Prince de Joinville, and a decisive victory was obtained over the Moors near the river Isly by Marshal Bugeaud. These disasters terrified the Emperor, and he submitted to terms of peace dictated by the conquerors,

We must not omit the following letter, written by Louis-Philippe to his son the Prince de Joinville, when the news of his successful naval campaign reached Paris.

"Neuilly, Thursday, 29th August.

"MY DEAR AND MOST BELOVED SON,—I thank God for having preserved you amidst the dangers you so nobly braved, and for permitting that I address through you to the squadron under your command my personal congratulations, and the expression of the national gratitude for the new laurels which it has added to our flags.

"In congratulating our brave seamen on having displayed that French valour which never fails to

respond to the appeal of the country, I take pride to myself that you restrained their ardour until the moment when the justice of our cause imposed upon us the necessity of having recourse to arms.

"I saw with delight the simultaneous efforts of our army and navy crowned with such brilliant success, and it is particularly grateful to me, that my son should have led our seamen to victory.

"I embrace you, my dear son, with all the affection of my heart."

(Signed) "LOUIS-PHILIPPE."

At the end of September, the trophies which had been taken in Africa were publicly received in Paris, in presence of the Royal Family. Very little popular enthusiasm was displayed on the occasion, and the King could not disguise his mortification at the coldness of his reception. The banners were borne in procession to the Hôtel des Invalides, where they were suspended in the nave of the chapel.

Louis-Philippe arrived in England to return the visit which her Majesty had paid him at Eu in the preceding year, on Tuesday, October 8th, 1844. He landed at Portsmouth from the *Gomer*, one of the finest steam-vessels afloat, having been previously visited and welcomed by Prince Albert and the Duke of Wellington. The Royal party then proceeded by railway to the Farnborough station, where the Royal carriages were in waiting to convey them to Windsor Castle.

Louis-Philippe was accompanied by his son, the Duc de Montpensier. He was received most warmly by Queen Victoria; addresses were voted to him from the Corporations of London, Windsor, and Portsmouth; he was invested a Knight Companion of the Order of the Garter at a chapter specially summoned for the purpose, and nothing was left undone by her Majesty to prove the sincerity of her friendship. On the 14th of October, the King and his son quitted Windsor; but on reaching Gosport, where the King intended to embark on board the Gomer, he found the weather so tempestuous, that he resolved to go round by London to Dover, and there embark for Calais. The town-council of Dover was hastily convened, and an address voted to the King, which he received with evident satisfaction, and in reply took an opportunity of expressing his warm attachment to the English people. He embarked on the following day, in the midst of tempestuous weather, and after the worst passage across the Channel that had been known for several years, landed safely in Calais.

In the meantime, the Queen of the French suffered much alarm when the King did not make his appearance at the time fixed for his arrival. At length a letter was brought by an express steamer, informing her of the change in his route, and she resolved to give him a pleasing surprise by meeting him on the road. She proceeded through Abbeville and Nouvion to Bernay, where she learned that the King had ordered dinner at seven that evening. Here, therefore, she

resolved to wait for him, but it was near ten before he arrived with his suite. The King was delighted with such a proof of affection; he returned with the Queen to Eu, which they did not reach until long past midnight.

It had been originally intended that Queen Victoria should dine with Louis-Philippe on board the *Gomer*, but this arrangement was disconcerted by the tempestuous weather. The Queen, nevertheless, resolved to pay a compliment to the French nation by visiting the French admiral on board his own vessel. Admiral la Susse, and the officers of the French squadron, received her Majesty with all possible honours; she carefully examined every part of the ship, partook of a splendid *déjeuner à la fourchette*, and herself proposed the health of the King of the French. This visit produced a great effect in allaying the anti-English feeling in France. Louis-Philippe was so convinced of its importance, that he addressed the following letter to her Majesty.

"Château d'Eu, 20th October, 1844.

"MADAM, MY VERY DEAR GOOD SISTER,—I read last night to the Queen, and to my sister, in the drawing-room where we had the happiness of seeing your Majesty, a long article in the *Standard* which contained the details, so interesting to us, of the visit you deigned to make to the *Gomer* with Prince Albert; and as I was about to express to you how very sensibly I felt that condescension, I received at

that moment the letter you had the kindness to write to me on the 17th, from Osborne House, in the Isle of Wight. I cannot express to you the pleasure this letter afforded me. I immediately communicated its contents to the Queen, to my sister, and to Montpensier. I have undertaken to be the interpreter of their sentiments to you, Madam, and I solicit for myself the same favour, on your part, with Prince Albert. But whilst greatly enjoying the perusal of the details of that kind visit, I felt grieved at not having been present, and I almost reproached myself for my departure from Dover, which, however, so many considerations induced me to undertake. I should have been most happy to have received your Majesty on board the *Gomer*, and to have had the happiness of being by your side at that breakfast when you were pleased again to drink my health, and even to remember good Charles.* But I warmly

* The "good Charles" was the King's cook, who prepared some peculiar cakes for the banquet which the Queen highly extolled. Admiral La Susse requested her to accept some for her own table, to which she acceded; and after her departure he sent a basket of them on board the royal yacht by the coxswain of the *Gomer*. When the French tar came on deck, he did not recognise the Queen, who was plainly attired, and wrapped in a red shawl. Taking her for one of the attendants, he handed her the basket, saying, "Here, Miss, are some cakes sent from the *Gomer* for the Queen of England; take charge of them, and mind and be sure you give them to her." This was said with so knowing a look, that her Majesty could not help laughing; Prince Albert, equally amused, explained his mistake to the astonished sailor.

thank your Majesty for having paid that visit. I know that all our sailors were delighted with it, and that they heartily made the ships resound with the cry of *Vive la Reine!* and which I was so happy to hear, also, at this place; and I do not doubt that, from our vessels, this cry will resound throughout France, extending itself even to the Pyrenees. Our people are very sensible of these symptoms of kindness towards them; and it is, assuredly, as your Majesty has so justly felt, a great means to render easy the task of maintaining and cultivating that cordial understanding so necessary for our countries, and so delightful for me when it is with you I cultivate it. I know, to my very real satisfaction, that the effect of all this is very great in France, and that if I had to-day the happiness to conduct your Majesty to Paris, you would there be welcomed with transport; and I hope this sentiment will not be transitory. However this may be, I hope I shall have the honour of paying my court to your Majesty at Windsor: and the Queen and my sister greatly flatter themselves to have also the opportunity of profiting by your Majesty's gracious intentions, of which they are very sensible.

"It is with all my heart that I renew to your Majesty the expression of that warm, sincere, and very tender friendship, with which I am, for life, Madam, and very dear Sister, your Majesty's very affectionate good Brother and very faithful Friend,

"LOUIS-PHILIPPE."

It is not our purpose to avail ourselves too largely of the correspondence between Queen Victoria and Louis-Philippe, which the Revolution of February has opened to public curiosity: we shall only make such extracts as have a public and historical importance. Such, we think, is the character of the following paragraphs from a letter written by Louis-Philippe to Queen Victoria, describing the effects which the accounts of her friendly manifestations had produced in Paris, and the probable results of her intended visit to that city.

"The Queen and my sister are very sensible of the kind wish you have expressed for them to accompany me to Windsor, when my second visit shall take place; and they desire it as much as I desire it myself. I hope that what has been so happily possible this year, will become still easier in the years which Providence may yet reserve for us. It would be with difficulty I should renounce the hope of seeing once a year your Majesty, as well as the Prince, who is so dear to you, and whose friendship has become so precious to me. I thank you much for confirming me in the hope of being able, one day, to do the honours of the City of Paris; and in this respect, I have the satisfaction to be able to tell you that, if some untoward event does not occur to change the feelings of the people, I would answer for complete success. I would answer for it now, without hesitation. The effect produced by the friendship of which you gave me last year, and also during the present, such touch-

ing and striking proofs; the welcome of the English public; the sentiments of peace and amity with France, so cordially manifested by your government and the people at large, have dispelled many prejudices which existed, and have produced an immense effect. In all the soundings, more or less direct, that I have made myself, or caused to be taken, I have found the most favourable disposition; and I have not any doubt that, if the moment had arrived when your Majesty would be able to renew your gracious visit to me at St. Cloud, the City of Paris would welcome your Majesty conformably to the wishes of my heart.

"In making these soundings, we interdicted all official acts on the part of public bodies or authorities, which would become the prey of the newspapers, which too often envenom that which they seize upon; and this has succeeded. They have not spoken about it. However, when the prefect sounded the municipal council, where opinions are a little mixed, one of the opposition said immediately, 'We will be gallant; we will give her the best reception; and we will vote unanimously all that will be requisite to give her a grand entertainment at the Hôtel de Ville.' The National Guard is not less favourably disposed, and wishes, also, to give its grand ball. It will shew you its sixty thousand men under arms, which might be too fatiguing for your Majesty; but, of course, all could be limited to meet your wishes. I only say this, to shew you that we should not be required to

stimulate, and that the reception would be everywhere such as our hearts desire."

Louis-Philippe was sincerely anxious that Queen Victoria should visit Paris, and we do not think that he over-estimated the probable results of so desirable an event. It would not only have broken down the jealous hostility to England, which had been produced by Thiers and his party, but it would have so largely benefited trade, as to have diminished the growing alienation between the Citizen-King and the shopkeepers of Paris. He thus reverts to the subject in a subsequent letter:

"The effect of your journey to Eu, and of mine to England, has been immense, and has surpassed in France all I could have hoped for. Your Majesty will forgive me for saying, that it has created towards you in France a personal affection, which the whole people desire to manifest towards you, whatever may be the sad and lamentable prejudices which a great number still entertain against England. And let it not be mistaken, that the reciprocal manifestations of these sentiments of good feeling towards the respective Sovereigns, is one of the most efficacious means of combating such prejudices, and of rendering them powerless in disturbing that cordial understanding which is the guarantee of the prosperity of the two countries, as well as of the repose of the world, and of the happiness of humanity. The welcome I received in England has been so much appreciated in France, that it has imposed silence

upon our scribblers, who had endeavoured to prevent my journey, by defying me to dare to undertake it. The reception which, in the present state of things and of the feelings of the public, your Majesty would receive from the population of France, and particularly from the great mass of the City of Paris, would produce an impulse which would always proceed *in crescendo*, and which would be, at the same time, the surest antidote to uproot those false ideas and prejudices which engender so much bitterness between the two nations, and the most efficacious mode of rendering popular amongst us that cordial understanding which is every day more appreciated from its happy results."

At the close of the speech which M. Guizot delivered in reply to M. Thiers, in the debate, on the Address, January 21st, 1845, he made the following eloquent and statesmanlike allusions to Louis-Philippe's visit to England, and to the cordial and enthusiastic manner in which he had been received :—

"There are, then, I say, two Governments in Europe who consider it their duty to act towards each other in a particular way, and act so: they continually testify a mutual confidence in each other's intentions and acts; and the care of their gravest interests ends neither in a rupture nor a coolness. The result, then, of all that I have just alluded to has been this :—The King of the French went to England *(murmurs on the left)*—this result is not a conjectured one, but palpable and undoubted. It has been said, that we

have hurried on matters to admit this visit. We precipitated nothing—all was resolved maturely and independently, and when nothing more existed to embarrass the two Governments, the King went to England. The propriety of this journey has certainly not been contested by any person, and its political utility cannot be impugned either. Although the personal intercourse between sovereigns is not at present so important as at other periods and under other forms of government, yet assuredly it has a certain influence on the good accord of States, and on the easy management of affairs. You know the result of this visit—you have beheld the manifestation of the sentiments of the Queen of England, of her husband, of those of the whole country, towards the King and dynasty of July, towards France herself, towards our policy of peace and liberal conservatism. Every one beheld this—Europe witnessed it—and do you suppose that the spectacle is without fruit?—that France was weakened or humiliated by these incidents? Ask where you please, in Europe, and I will beforehand agree to accept the answer. *(Loud approbation.)* But what Europe witnessed and comprehended, France herself also understood. I saw the King's return to France—I saw how he was everywhere welcomed—I saw a just pride displayed at the consideration with which he was greeted in England, and a just satisfaction at the removal of all difficulties between the two States."

Though this speech was received with great cheer-

ing, the Ministers appeared to have lost ground in the Chamber of Deputies, and on one important division they could only command a majority of eight. Louis-Philippe with difficulty dissuaded Soult from resigning, and the Opposition, which did not cohere very well together, ceased to push its advantages. The Session, in consequence, passed over very tranquilly; nothing appeared to trouble France but several severe disasters experienced in Algiers, and it is much to be regretted that the exasperation produced by these prevented the French people from reprobating several acts of atrocity perpetrated by their generals on the unfortunate Arabs.

In September, Queen Victoria, on her return from Germany, paid a second visit to Louis-Philippe at Eu. She only remained one night, intending, later in the year, to make her anxiously-expected visit to Paris. But soon after her return to England, the commencement of the potato-disease in Ireland, and the divisions on the question of the Corn Laws in the cabinet, threatened a ministerial crisis which required all her attention.

The probability of a change in the English cabinet was viewed with serious alarm by Louis-Philippe. He saw that it would necessarily cause Queen Victoria to postpone her visit to Paris for another year at least, if not still more indefinitely. Lord Palmerston, who was certain to fill the post of Foreign Secretary in a Whig administration, was known to be very dissatisfied with the termination of the Tahiti affair, and had

declared that the French ought never to have been allowed to assume the protectorate of that island. It was, therefore, all but certain that, unless further reparation were made, he would not, as Foreign Minister, sanction a visit of her Majesty to the King of the French. The following letter of Louis-Philippe to his godson, the Count de Jarnac, then in London, will shew how nervously anxious he was on the subject :—

"St. Cloud, December 14th, 1845.

"MY DEAR PHILIP,—I thank you sincerely for the information you have transmitted.

"I beg of you to act as my interpreter with your uncle, the Duke of Leinster, and tell him how sensible I am of all his obliging favours. But I have to charge you with another message, although I have already confided it to Guizot, but I desire to repeat it in every possible way, because it springs at once from my heart and from all my mental convictions. It is to testify to Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Aberdeen how deeply I am afflicted by their resignation of office, and that I am the more so, because I flattered myself with the hope to see their ministry for a much longer time concur with mine in continuing and perpetuating that "cordial understanding" which they have so efficaciously contributed to establish, and which has been so well cemented by the personal relations and affections which it has permitted us to establish. I have a confidence—and I have need of such a confidence—that these sentiments will be preserved whatever may be

the undiscoverable fluctuations of the future. They will always furnish a means of counteracting those unhappy chances which we may not have the good fortune to prevent.

"Tell Lord Aberdeen that I shall always preserve the sentiments of affection which I expressed to him at the Château d'Eu, and that I shall always be anxious to shew him that nothing can efface them from my breast.

"Reckon always, my dear Philip, on the sentiments of regard which I entertain for yourself.

"LOUIS-PHILIPPE."

The Prince of Saxe Coburg and his Princess, daughter to the King of the French, had been on a visit to Queen Victoria; and they left Windsor on the 24th of November, before the divisions in the Ministry were known beyond the precincts of the Cabinet. They were the bearers of a letter from Queen Victoria, in which her Majesty congratulates Louis-Philippe on the birth of his eleventh grandchild, and stated some of the ministerial difficulties which compelled her to postpone her purposed visit to Paris. There are some passages in Louis-Philippe's reply, which merit out attention:

"I was about expressing to your Majesty that, however much I might regret the circumstance, I perfectly understood the motives which induced you to postpone, till another year, the visit I so ardently desired, and that I hoped to find a compensation for this privation

by going again to offer to you, in England, the homage of those sentiments I bear towards you, and which attach me so profoundly to you, as well as to the Prince, your husband, when I received the news of the resignation of Sir Robert Peel, Lord Aberdeen, and the whole of their colleagues. This intelligence affected me very painfully. I had flattered myself that these ministers, who had always agreed so well with mine in establishing between our two Governments that happy cordial understanding which is the basis of the peace of the world, and of the prosperity of our countries, would have long remained to maintain and consolidate it more and more. This hope is frustrated. It is necessary to submit: but I hasten to assure your Majesty that, whatever may be your new Ministry, that which now surrounds me, and which I desire and hope long to keep, will not omit any effort to cultivate and maintain that happy understanding which it is so evidently our common interest to preserve uninjured.

"Under such circumstances, it becomes doubly precious to me to be united to your Majesty and to Prince Albert by so many ties; and to have formed between us that mutual attachment—that affection and confidence — which are above, and independent of, all political considerations, but which will always exercise, more or less, a salutary influence over the actions and proceedings of our Governments. I therefore declare to your Majesty and to your husband, in the most perfect freedom, that I shall have need to rely upon this

occasional assistance, and that I shall rely upon it entirely, asking you to repose the same confidence in me, and repeating to you that that confidence will never be abused for the future any more than it has been during the past."

In a second letter, dated the 28th of December, he says:

"Permit me, also, to congratulate you on the maintenance of the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel and of Lord Aberdeen, and I hope, likewise, of the Duke of Wellington. I have witnessed with the liveliest satisfaction, this happy termination of the ministerial crisis, and of the anxieties it must have caused you. No one is more able than myself, who have so often undergone them, to appreciate what your Majesty must have suffered. I hope you will now long be free from them; this is my warmest desire. Appearances here are very good. You know the value I attach to the maintenance of my present Ministry, and everything leads me to hope that it will consolidate itself more and more."

These passages clearly shew the feelings of Louis-Philippe and the Guizot Ministry; but they were quite opposite to the feelings of the French nation. Most Frenchmen were thoroughly disgusted with the state of their parliamentary representation, and felt anxious to see the reformers of the English constituencies restored to power, in the hopes that such an event might lead to the amelioration of their own. In France the number of registered electors was less than 200,000, or one-fifth of the electoral body of

England, while 500,000 paid offices were at the disposal of the King and his Ministers. Such a system was a constant satire upon all constitutional government; it was a moral nuisance that required to be abated. This mode of governing by corruption was not only tyrannical but costly: year after year the expenditure of the Administration exceeded its income; fresh imposts were necessary to supply the deficiency, and at the end of fifteen years, the taxation of France was nearly double what it had been at the time of the Revolution of July, while France had made no proportionate advance in influence, in glory, or in internal prosperity.

Two attempts were made on the life of Louis-Philippe in the course of the year 1846. The King and the Royal Family spent the early part of April at the Palace of Fontainbleau, and every day, when the weather permitted, took a drive in an open carriage through the noble and extensive parks which surround the château. Lecomte, who had been employed as a keeper of the forest, but had been compelled to resign in consequence of several acts of misconduct and insubordination, easily made himself acquainted with the route usually taken by the Royal party during these excursions. Though he had received a retiring pension, to which he was not entitled, from the Royal bounty, he wished to be restored to his former place, and when this was refused he resolved to become a regicide. As he was one of the best marksmen in France, and was well acquainted with all the localities

of Fontainbleau, it seemed as if nothing but the direct interference of Providence could have baffled his fatal purpose.

On the 16th of April he took his post near the gate of a private park, called "The Pheasants-Preserve," which was retained exclusively for the use of the Royal Family. He stood upon a heap of faggots, and rested his gun on the top of the wall, calculating that it would be exactly on a level with the King's head. The Royal party, consisting of the King and Queen, the Prince and Princess of Salerno, the young Duke of Orleans, the Duchesse de Nemours, and M. de Montalivet, drove towards the gate with more than usual rapidity. Lecomte was further disconcerted by finding that M. de Montalivet, whom he knew perfectly well, occupied the place in the carriage which he expected to find filled by the King. Compelled suddenly to change the position of his gun, he took only an imperfect aim. Though he fired within twelve yards' distance, the balls only cut the fringe over the King's head; the burning wadding fell into the Queen's lap, and she shrieked aloud. This ejaculation further disconcerted Lecomte: he fired a second shot, and missed the carriage altogether. The King exclaimed, "It is nothing — it is only the conclusion of the shooting-party;" then turning to the postilions, he cried, "Well, drive to the Palace!" The party then continued their course, still uncertain whether the circumstance was to be regarded as an accident or a fresh attempt at assassination.

All doubt on the subject was soon removed. Immediately after the firing of the shots, one of the King's grooms, an active young man, named Millet, scrambled over the wall and gave chase to the assassin. Millet soon overtook him; a severe struggle ensued, and it is probable that his great personal strength would have enabled the ruffian to escape, had not some hussars galloped round, by whom he was secured. Lecomte was tried before the Court of Peers, found guilty, and executed on the 8th of June, with a degree of privacy which excited much suspicion, and drew forth many comments.

Nothing could prove more strongly how much the popularity of the King had waned than the apathy with which the news of this atrocious attempt was received throughout France. The addresses of congratulation presented on the occasion were mere unmeaning formalities. On the contrary, a lively sympathy was felt for Louis-Philippe in England. Queen Victoria addressed him a most warm-hearted letter. At a dinner given to the Ministers by the Lord Mayor of London, on the 22nd of April, Sir Robert Peel, after alluding to the attempted assassination, proposed "The health of the King of the French," and pronounced an eloquent eulogium on his Majesty, which was enthusiastically cheered by the assembled guests. Louis-Philippe thus expressed his grateful sense of English sympathy in a letter to Queen Victoria:—

"What shall I say to you, Madam, regarding all

the sentiments with which this new mark of friendship on your part has penetrated me? You are aware of that which I feel for you, and how warm and sincere it is. I greatly hope the year will not pass away without my presenting my homages to your Majesty. Nothing but an absolute impossibility could prevent me, which I do not foresee. I am, besides, so touched by the toast of Sir Robert Peel, by the welcome with which he was received at the Mansion House, and by the new address which, under the gracious permission of your Majesty, the Corporation of the City of London has just voted on the occasion of the signal protection with which Divine Providence deigned to shield the Queen and myself, my sister, and the Duchesse de Nemours, as well as the Prince and Princesse de Salerno, and my grandson, De Wurtemberg, poor child! who were exposed to the same danger; that, during my new visit, I should warmly desire, under the auspices of your Majesty and of the Prince, your husband, that I might find an opportunity to go in person, and testify to them all my gratitude for the manifestation of interest with which I have been surrounded under this sad circumstance, by the generous nation over which you reign, and to which you have given the impulse in a manner which nothing can ever efface from my heart."

There is room for doubt whether the second of these attempts on Louis-Philippe's life was a serious design, or a madman's effort to obtain notoriety. On the 29th of July, while the King and Royal Family stood

on the balcony of the Tuilleries witnessing the festivities with which the anniversary of the three glorious days were usually celebrated, a Parisian tradesman of broken fortune, named Joseph Henri, fired two pistol-shots at the King. No marks of bullets, though carefully searched for, were ever found, and the probability is, that the pistols were only loaded with powder. The unfortunate man disavowed any political motive or any personal dislike of the King. He said that he was urged to the crime solely by the desperate state of his circumstances, and that he wished to die, but had not the courage to commit suicide. Joseph Henri was tried by the Chamber of Peers, and sentenced to hard labour for life; but instead of being grateful for escaping the guillotine, he begged earnestly to be executed. He was liberated with the other State-prisoners during the late Revolution, but it has since been found necessary to place him in confinement as a dangerous lunatic.

Very few addresses of congratulation were presented to the King on his second escape, and these were even colder than those of the preceding April. Thiers, though opposed to the Ministry, was attached to the Orleans dynasty, and lamented to see that it had lost its hold on the affections of the people of France. With profound sagacity he observed to his friends, "If Napoleon II. were still alive, he would take the place of the present King on the throne."

It was in vain that Queen Victoria wrote to Louis-Philippe that the advent of a Whig ministry

should make no change in the "cordial understanding" established between France and England. The wily old monarch knew too well that Lord Palmerston would use all his influence in opposition to Queen Christina and the Moderados in Spain, with whom Louis-Philippe had secretly contracted the closest relations. He wrote a long letter on the subject to his son-in-law, the King of the Belgians, probably in the hope that he would communicate it to the Queen of England. But Leopold was far from being disposed to intermeddle in matters of such delicacy and difficulty. If he forwarded a copy of the letter, which we deem very doubtful, he certainly did not second it by any earnest recommendations.

Guizot was still more alarmed at seeing the English Foreign Office occupied by Lord Palmerston. He had won the affections of the King and Queen of the French by his zeal for the personal aggrandizement of the Orleans family, and he believed that Lord Palmerston was animated by some mysterious hostility against all the branches of the House of Bourbon. Acting on this mistaken feeling, he declared to Louis-Philippe that the new instructions sent by Lord Palmerston to Mr. Henry Bulwer, the English ambassador at Madrid, shewed a settled determination to abandon the course of policy pursued by Lord Aberdeen, and that it was therefore necessary that the King should take energetic measures to support the cause of Queen Christina. Instructions were therefore sent to Count Bresson,

the representative of France at Madrid, carefully to watch and strenuously to counteract Bulwer's political schemes.

The hostility between the two diplomatists very soon became apparent, and it greatly abated the "cordial understanding" between France and England. But while Louis-Philippe and his able minister thus devoted all their energies and attention to the troubled politics of Spain, they neglected to attend to the growing dissatisfaction at home, and even aggravated it by what they deemed master-strokes of policy and diplomacy.

The general election which took place on the 2nd of August, 1846, gave Guizot's cabinet a greater accession of strength than had been anticipated. But every engine of corruption had been employed to secure a parliamentary majority; places and offices were multiplied beyond all precedent; the grossest corruptions in the Administration were winked at; more than one half of the Deputies returned at the general election owed their success to force or fraud; Ministers had an overwhelming majority, but the legislature itself was scouted and disavowed by the nation. Thus, this triumph, or rather the means by which it had been attained, ultimately led to the overthrow of the monarchy.

CHAPTER X.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE OF SPAIN BY FERDINAND VII.—THE CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN.—QUEEN CHRISTINA.—ESPARTERO.—THE SPANISH MARRIAGES CONTEMPLATED.—EXPOSITION OF FRENCH POLICY IN THAT MATTER, BY M. GUIZOT.—THE SEVERAL CANDIDATES.—LETTER OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE TO THE QUEEN OF THE BELGIANS.—POLICY OF ENGLAND IN RELATION TO THE SPANISH MARRIAGES.—TRIUMPH OF FRENCH DIPLOMACY.—EXPLANATION OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE.—LETTER OF THE QUEEN OF THE FRENCH TO QUEEN VICTORIA.—THE REPLY.—ALLUSION TO THE MONTPENSIER MARRIAGE BY THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND, IN THE ADDRESS FROM THE THRONE—AND BY LOUIS-PHILIPPE IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE TWO CHAMBERS.—THE DUC AND DUCHESSE DE MONTPENSIER AT PARIS.—GENERAL POLICY OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

On the 29th of September, 1833, Ferdinand VII. of Spain died, leaving behind him two daughters and a disputed inheritance. One of the earliest acts of Philip V., after the Treaty of Utrecht had given the throne of Spain to the Bourbons, was to establish the Salic Law, which, we need not remind our readers, excludes females from the succession. Some years before his death, Ferdinand VII., with the consent of the Cortes, set aside this arrangement and restored the old Agnatic Law of Castile, which gave the inheritance to females in default of male issue. Don Carlos, the brother of Ferdinand, thus excluded from a Crown which had been almost within his grasp, protested against the change, and was secretly

supported by the Absolutist Powers of the Continent. They saw that a Regent would be compelled to convoke the constitutional Cortes, and they disguised their hatred of liberalism by an affected zeal for a new principle of legitimacy.

Don Carlos appealed to arms. Large masses rose in his favour in several of the provinces; the Regent, Queen Christina, applied to England and France to support the cause of her infant daughter, Isabella, and the throne of the young Queen was guaranteed by a quadruple alliance between England, France, Portugal, and Spain. The civil war, however, raged for several years, but the Carlists were finally crushed, chiefly by the energy and diplomatic abilities of Espartero, who was rewarded with the title of Duke of Victory.

Queen Christina's moral character had been sullied by some dark stains; her system of administration was despotic; and she openly shewed her reluctance to employ those liberal leaders to whom her daughter had been mainly indebted for her throne. But she was niece to the Queen of the French; she prefessed herself ready to carry out any system of policy which Louis-Philippe would dictate, and that Monarch therefore supported her cause with all the influence of France.

A revolt of the soldiery compelled Christina to resign the Regency. She escaped to Paris, where she was received with the most ostentatious affection by the King and the Royal Family; nor were these

demonstrations abated when Christina's rather notorious immoralities scandalized even a city so tolerant in these matters as Paris. In her absence the Cortes, at the instigation of Espartero, despoiled the monasteries and churches, sold their ornaments by auction, and applied the proceeds to recruit the public finances. The religious prejudices of the Spaniards were shocked by what they deemed acts of sacrilege, and thenceforth the Regency of Espartero was only maintained by military force.

Guizot, who regarded the new Regent of Spain as the very incarnation of revolutionary violence, warmly espoused the cause of the exiled Queen, and more than connived at the Christino insurrections which were raised in various parts of Spain. He quite agreed with Louis-Philippe, that the succession to the Crown of Spain should be perpetuated in the House of Bourbon; and he saw reason to apprehend that if Espartero continued in power until the young Queen attained maturity, he might be disposed to bestow her hand on a prince alien to the Bourbon family.

Espartero was supported by the influence of England until Lord Aberdeen returned to the Foreign Office. That nobleman adopted the views of M. Guizot, in opposition to the policy of Lord Palmerston. A new revolution followed; Espartero was forced to seek shelter in England, and Christino returned in triumph to Madrid, where she publicly married her paramour Munos, and legitimatised the

children she had had by him before marriage.* This was the first result of the "cordial understanding" established during the visit to Eu; and it was the fear that this deception would be revealed to Queen Victoria, that alarmed Guizot and Louis-Philippe when Lord Palmerston came back to the Foreign Office.

Queen Christina at first was inclined to bestow the hand of her eldest daughter upon the Duc d'Aumale, or the Duc de Montpensier. Louis-Philippe, in his letters to King Leopold, distinctly avers that the offer was made and pressed upon him. It was not accepted, because the proposal would have provoked the hostility of all the great Powers, and would furthermore have been most strenuously resisted by the Spanish people.

M. Guizot's despatch to M. Casimir Périer, dated June 23rd, 1842, recognises the exclusion of the French Princes, but insists strongly on the restriction of the young Queen of Spain's choice to a Prince of the House of Bourbon. He says:—

"Our policy in this matter is very simple. For the sake of the general peace and the balance of Europe we allow of our French Princes being prevented from becoming candidates for the hand of the Queen of Spain. But in return, we can admit as consort of the Queen no Prince who does not belong to the House of Bourbon. That House has many candidates

* No one ever believed the story of a previous private marriage which was pleaded in her excuse by the ministerial papers of Paris.

to offer—the Princes of Naples and of Lucca, the sons of Don Carlos, or those of Don Francisco de Paula. We neither propose nor prohibit any of them. He who may be acceptable to Spain will be acceptable to us, provided he be within the limits of the House of Bourbon.

"This is to us a French question of the highest importance. We have no right and no pretensions to impose a husband on the Queen of Spain, or to interdict one; she is at perfect liberty to choose whom she pleases. We have a profound respect for the independence both of the Crown and the people of Spain; but we have in our turn a right both to think and to say that such or such an alliance would appear to us contrary to the interests of France; that if it were contracted it would place us in a hostile position with regard to Spain. This is the object—and it certainly is a very legitimate one—of our declarations, and in making it openly beforehand, we are acting honourably towards Europe as well as prudently with regard to ourselves. If the choice of the Queen of Spain falls on one of the descendants of Philip V., we shall have nothing to say, even though we may think that within these limits another alliance might have been better for the interests of Spain herself."

This reasoning is feeble, inconclusive, and contradictory. How could the Queen's choice be unfettered when it was virtually restricted to five or six persons, for no greater number came within the scope of the conditions prescribed by M. Guizot? Furthermore,

the restriction was so interpreted as to force Isabella to accept Don Francisco d'Assis, who was commonly reported to be constitutionally unfitted for marriage.

Two Neapolitan Princes were within the limits of Guizot's condition; they were both brothers of Queen Christina, and consequently uncles of the proposed bride. The elder, however, having married a Princess of Brazil, there remained only the Count Trapani, who was at first supported by Narvaez and also by Queen Christina. But it soon appeared that the Spanish nation was averse to a Neapolitan marriage, and that Christina found her brother not likely to be so tractable as she expected. Finally, Isabella herself was said to have exhibited the greatest repugnance to such an unnatural union. Trapani, however, was the chosen candidate of Louis-Philippe, not only because he was that Monarch's nephew by marriage, but because it was supposed that he lay under the same disqualification as Don Francisco.*

Christina, afraid of the combined influence of Louis-Philippe and Narvaez, sent a secret agent to the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, soliciting the hand of his cousin, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, for her daughter; and at the same time she applied to Mr. Henry Bulwer, our ambassador at Madrid, to ask the support of England in the event of this marriage

* "Trapani is a miserable, idiotic, sickly little being," says a letter which was published in the Progresista journals, and produced a very great effect in Spain. It must, however, be confessed that his deficiencies were grossly exaggerated.

exposing her to the hostility of France. Mr. Bulwer appears to have taken a favourable view of the project; but, before giving any decisive answer, he communicated the matter to Lord Aberdeen, who at once revealed it to the King of the French. Trapani was withdrawn to prevent the Queen from throwing herself into the arms of the Cobourgs, and Lord Aberdeen reprimanded Bulwer for having in any way sanctioned the intrigue. Mr. Bulwer would have resigned, had it not been notorious that a change of Ministry was inevitable in England.

The Prince of Lucca, having chosen a wife according to his own taste, was now out of the question. But many statesmen, in and out of Spain, wished that the young Queen should marry the Count de Montemolin, eldest son of Don Carlos, to whom his father had just resigned his pretensions to the Crown. Such a combination would have put an end to civil dissensions; but Montemolin, claiming to reign in his own right, would have rendered Isabella's dignity merely titular. He would assuredly have expelled Christina from Spain; he would have intrigued in favour of the Legitimatists in France; and he would have abolished the last vestige of that constitution which the Spaniards had obtained after many weary years of bloodshed and civil war. Furthermore, he published a manifesto, claiming the throne in right of his birth, which was couched in such offensive terms that it alienated those who had been previously disposed to become his partisans.

Such was the state of affairs when Lord Palmerston returned to the Foreign Office. In an interview with the French ambassador, his Lordship declared that, in the new instructions sent to Mr. Henry Bulwer, the list of candidates contained but three names:

1. Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg,
2. Don Francesco d'Assis, Duke of Cadiz,
3. Don Enrique, Duke of Seville,

the two last being the sons of Don Francesco de Paula, the paternal uncle of the Queen.

Count de Jarnac either was, or pretended to be, very much surprised at seeing Prince Leopold's name at the head of the list. He insisted that it should be removed, declaring that its insertion was contrary to the assurances which Lord Aberdeen had constantly given. It is therefore of importance to know what Lord Aberdeen did really say, and we shall take the report from the pen of Louis-Philippe himself. In his too celebrated letter to the Queen of the Belgians, he says, "I will now speak to you about the marriage of Montpensier with the Infanta. Not a single word was said about it, either when Queen Victoria came to Eu, in 1843, or when I was at Windsor in 1844; it was only in 1845, that Lord Aberdeen spoke about it to Guizot and to me, for the first time. Our reply was the same. I told Lord Aberdeen that I warmly desired that Montpensier should marry the Infanta Louise Ferdinande; but that I had no more wish that he should marry Queen

Louise than Queen Isabella, and that he might ever be certain that my son would only marry the Infanta after the marriage of the Queen. Lord Aberdeen added, "And when she shall have had a child?" "Be it so," I replied; "I wish for nothing better; for if the Queen were to remain barren, the Infanta would inevitably become heiress to the throne, and that would no more suit your purpose than it would mine. But, however, a little reciprocity is required in this affair, and if I give you your securities, it is just that you, in return, give me mine. Now mine are, that *you shall do what you can to endeavour that Queen Isabella shall choose her husband from amongst the descendants of Philip V., and that Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg shall be set aside.*" "*Agreed,*" replied Lord Aberdeen; "*we are of the same opinion as yourself, and think that it would be the best plan for the Queen to select her husband from amongst the descendants of Philip V.* We cannot put ourselves forward on this question as we have done, but we will leave it to you; we will confine ourselves to following you, and, at all events, we will not do anything against you. *As for the candidateship of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, you may be easy on that point. I answer for it that it will be neither acknowledged nor supported by England, and that it will not be any obstruction to you.*'

"Guizot, to whom I have just given this recital to read, declares that it is strictly correct; and I am

sure of the same testimony on the part of Lord Aberdeen, if I could also let him read it."

Whatever may be the opinions formed of Lord Aberdeen's prudence in acceding to the restrictions imposed upon the choice of the Queen of Spain, the only real question is, whether Lord Aberdeen could have given a pledge that the candidateship of the Prince of Saxe-Coburg would not be *acknowledged* by England. He was proposed, not by any English party, but by the Spanish Queen's mother; and there was no reason, either of English or Spanish policy, which would have justified his exclusion. Lord Aberdeen never urged any objection against the proposal of seeking among the descendants of Philip V. for a husband for the Queen of Spain; but in all his despatches he constantly stated that, if a member of the House of Bourbon could not be safely chosen, consistently with the happiness of the Queen, or with a due regard to the tranquillity of Spain, the Government of Madrid might exercise its independent judgment, and in such a case it would be no cause of displeasure to Great Britain if they were to select a Prince from some other family. Lord Palmerston, in fact, favoured most energetically the cause of Don Enrique, on account of his Progresista or liberal opinions; but these very opinions made him the most odious to Louis-Philippe of all the candidates.*

* In his letter to the Queen of the Belgians, Louis-Philippe thus speaks of Lord Palmerston's instructions, communicated to

From subsequent events there is reason to believe that if Don Enrique had ever found favour in the eyes of his Royal cousin, her affection was not of long duration, and was ultimately changed into dislike. It is certain that he was thoroughly detested by Queen Christina, and that the feeling was heartily reciprocated on his part. Whatever might have been his chances, however, he effectually destroyed them by

the Count de Jarnac, after they had been transmitted to Mr. Henry Bulwer :—

"The remainder of the instructions did not appear to us more satisfactory. They were quite in another tone, and of a very different tendency from those of Lord Aberdeen. There was no indication of a good understanding being recommended to be preserved between us; the tendency of the whole of these instructions was to assure the support and concurrence of England to that Progresista party, which is really, at least in my eyes, that *revolutionary party* whose ascendancy has produced in Spain so many deplorable events, both in the affair of La Granga, and in submitting and abandoning the young Queen to the yoke of the Regency of Espartero."

These are rather strange sentiments from the pen of a monarch who owed his throne to a Revolution; but not less singular is his account of the candidateship of Don Enrique.

"The English agents, more than a month after the instructions had been sent by Lord Palmerston, admitting the candidateship of Prince Leopold of Coburg, laboured to support the pretensions of Don Enrique; but nothing could be more untimely, since it was but too notorious that Don Enrique was the chief, or, rather, the agent, of revolutionists of all shades, and Lord Palmerston, by recommending his candidateship, in the official documents, consummated its impossibility."

All this declamation is of course very consistent from a monarch who acquired his throne by becoming himself, "the agent of revolutionists of all shades!"

publishing an imprudent and intemperate address to the Spanish nation, in which he avowed his Progresista opinions so strongly as to give such great offence to the Government, that it was resolved to remove him from Spain. He was ordered to join his ship, which lay at Ferrol, but he preferred exile, and went to reside in Belgium.

Lord Palmerston, on his return to office, recommended the Spanish Government to adopt a more tolerant line of policy than it had hitherto pursued; to grant an amnesty for the purpose of calming public irritation, and to pursue for the future a more constitutional course of government. Mr. Henry Bulwer found that it would be impossible to obtain these concessions from the Queen-Mother, unless he was prepared to aid her favourite scheme of a marriage with the Prince of Coburg. There is little reason to doubt that all the Princes of the House of Coburg were anxious that such a match should be concluded. Duke Ferdinand and his son Leopold came to England in November 1846, whence, after a short stay, they proceeded to Portugal, and afterwards to the south of Spain.

The King of the Belgians appears to have preferred the interests of his family to the wishes of his father-in-law; for his visits to England, while the Spanish marriages were under discussion, excited great uneasiness in Paris. It is, however, certain that Mr. Bulwer, on the 27th of August 1846, officially communicated to Signor Isturitz the determination of the

English Government *not* to support the Prince of Coburg as a candidate for the hand of the Queen, and that he again urged the claims of Don Enrique.

When Queen Christina received this intelligence she became perfectly furious. Hastening to her daughter, she represented the refusal of the English Government to support the Prince of Coburg as an insult to the whole Spanish nation, and prevailed upon her to give a reluctant assent to her marriage with Don Francisco d'Assis. Such were Christina's haste and anxiety, that the ceremony of betrothal was celebrated in the palace that very night. It was conducted in the most clandestine and mysterious manner, only four or five ministers, and the keeper of the records, being present, in addition to the parties personally interested. This was a complete triumph of French diplomacy: it secured, at least for a time, the continuance of the reactionary and unconstitutional system, which it was Louis-Philippe's favourite policy to uphold in Spain.

The worst that can be said of this part of the transaction is, that the conjugal happiness of an innocent and helpless young Queen was sacrificed to the selfish interests of such a veteran intriguer as Louis-Philippe, and so profligate a mother as Queen Christina. But the second part of the transaction was even worse. It had been agreed with Lord Aberdeen that the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta of Spain should be delayed until her sister, Queen Isabella, had given birth to an heir to

the throne. Louis-Philippe states this himself in his letter to the Queen of the Belgians, from which we have quoted a passage in a preceding page.* So late as the 1st of September, 1846, M. Guizot stated to the English ambassador at Paris, that "it was not intended that the two marriages should take place at the same time." They were, nevertheless, solemnised in the Hall of Ambassadors at the Palace of Madrid on the same evening, October 10th, 1846; and it was contended that Guizot's word was not broken, because one marriage immediately followed the other, as if it would have been possible to celebrate both at the same instant; or even if it had been, as though that would have made the slightest difference in the mo-

* Louis-Philippe thus explains what he tenderly calls his *deviation* from the agreement:

"It consisted in the fact, that I concluded and carried into effect, the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier—not before the marriage of the Queen of Spain (for she was to be united to the Duc de Cadiz at the same moment that my son was to be married to the Infanta), but before the Queen should have had a child. This is the whole of the deviation, neither more nor less. I will now estimate it at its just value, by entering into details which you will communicate, as you are best able, to Queen Victoria; for I think them needful to the full elucidation of the affair. I must not permit myself to be stopped by any reserve, when, after a life like mine, I find myself, for the first time, exposed to suspicion, or even to the accusation of *having broken my word.*

"I have already told you, and it is a notorious fact, that it rested entirely with me whether one of my sons, either Aumale or Montpensier, should not marry the Queen of Spain. This I refused; and I resisted all the entreaties which were made to me to induce me to give my consent. So that, desiring, as I have

rality of the transaction. The Spaniards regarded the whole matter with the most extraordinary apathy. An illumination took place at Madrid on the evening of the marriages, but it was far from being general; indeed, with few exceptions, it was confined to the residences of official personages and nobles connected with the Court.

Louis-Philippe was well aware that this piece of dishonest trickery would be very likely to compromise that "cordial understanding" with Queen Victoria, of which he had been accustomed to vaunt rather too clamorously. Instead of writing personally to the English sovereign, he delegated the task to his Queen, who seems to have undertaken it with great reluc-

always done, that my son should marry the Infanta, because this family alliance suited me in every respect, and it equally suited the Queen and my family, I would only contract it upon the understanding that the Infanta should not *necessarily* become the Queen of Spain; and I wished to give myself, in this respect, as many guarantees as the close situation of the throne in which the Infanta was placed, and the uncertainty of human life, required. Lord Aberdeen appeared satisfied with this arrangement; but he required a guarantee against the possibility of the *sterility* of the Queen, and as that entered equally into my views, it experienced on my part not the least opposition. Still, in adhering to it, I was led to consider that it was understood there would be made no more objections, on the part of England, or by its agents, to the marriage of my son with the Infanta: but it is too notorious that objections were made, by anticipation, of all shades and of all degrees."

The general belief throughout Europe was, that this (the probability of the Queen bearing no issue) had been calculated upon, and that this was one of the chief causes of hastening the marriage.

tance. She addressed the following letter to Queen Victoria :-

"September 8th, 1846.

"MADAM,—Confiding in the kindly friendship of which your Majesty has given us so many proofs, and in the amiable interest which you have always testified towards our children, I hasten to announce to you the conclusion of the marriage of our son, Montpensier, with the Infanta, Louisa Ferdinande. This family event fills us with joy, because I hope that it will ensure the happiness of our beloved son, and that we shall find in the Infanta a new daughter, as good and as amiable as her elder sisters,* and that this will add to our domestic happiness—the only happiness in this world that is real—and which you, Madam, so well know how to appreciate. I ask beforehand your friendship for our new child, being assured that she will participate in all the sentiments of devotion and respect which we all feel for you, for the Prince Albert, and for all your dear family.

"I am, Madam, your Majesty's most devoted friend and sister, "MARIE-AMELIE."

This constrained and disingenuous letter was, in fact, a new and great offence. It passed over in silence the breach of a Royal promise as a matter not requiring notice or apology. Some explanation

* That is, sisters by marriage. The Queen of the French was justly proud of the amiable and excellent qualities of the Princesses, her daughters.

was required from Louis-Philippe by all the ordinary rules of etiquette, and the attempt to evade it by making his Queen the medium of communication was a palpable piece of shuffling. The writer of the letter appears painfully conscious of the ungraciousness and difficulty of the task imposed upon her: while evidently anxious to obtain a favourable reply, she cannot disguise her fears of a contrary result.

Queen Victoria promptly replied with a graceful severity which must have had a most cutting effect:—

"Osborne House, September 10th, 1846.

"MADAM,—I have just received your Majesty's letter of the 8th of this month, and I hasten to thank you for it. You will, perhaps, remember what took place between the King and me at Eu. You know the importance which I have always attached to the maintenance of our cordial understanding, and the zeal with which I have laboured for it; you have doubtless learned that we refused to arrange the marriage between the Queen of Spain and our cousin Leopold" (which the two Queens * most ardently desired) "with the sole design of not separating ourselves from an arrangement which might be the most agreeable to the King, although we did not consider this arrangement the best that could be adopted. You can, then, easily comprehend that the announcement of this double marriage caused us the deepest surprise and most keen regret.

* Christina and Isabella.

"I ask your pardon, Madam, for speaking to you of politics at the present moment; but I am anxious to be able to say that *I* have always been *sincere* with you.

"Requesting you to present my compliments to the King, I am your Majesty's most devoted friend and sister,

"VICTORIA R." *

Instead of replying directly to this plain rebuke, Louis-Philippe addressed a long, rambling letter to his daughter the Queen of the Belgians, from which we

* We insert the Queen's letter, in the original French, as a most creditable specimen of composition.

"Osborne, 10 Septembre, 1846.

"MADAME,—Je viens de recevoir la lettre de votre Majesté du 8 de ce mois, et je m'empresse de vous en remercier. Vous vous souviendrez peut-être de ce qui s'est passé à Eu entre le roi et moi; vous connaissez l'importance que j'ai toujours attachée au maintien de notre entente cordiale et le zèle avec lequel j'y ai travaillé; vous avez appris sans doute que nous nous sommes refusés d'arranger le mariage entre la Reine d'Espagne et notre cousin Léopold (que les deux reines avaient désiré vivement) dans ce seul but de ne pas nous éloigner d'une marche qui serait plus agréable au roi, quoique nous ne pouvions considérer cette marche comme la meilleure. Vous pouvez donc aisément comprendre que l'annonce soudaine de ce *double mariage* ne pouvait nous causer que de la surprise et un bien vif regret.

"Je vous demande pardon, madame, de vous parler de politique dans ce moment, mais j'aime pouvoir me dire que j'ai toujours été *sincère* avec vous.

"En vous priant de présenter mes hommages au Roi,

"Je suis, Madame,

"De Votre Majesté, la toute dévouée Sœur et Amie,

"VICTORIA R."

have already extracted all that was material to the issue. King Leopold made some efforts to mediate between his father-in-law and his niece, which were not crowned with all the success he expected. The Duc de Montpensier came subsequently with his bride to England; but the coldness with which they were received induced them to abridge their visit.

The reference to the Montpensier marriage in the Queen's Speech, at the opening of Parliament in 1847, was curt and almost contemptuous. "The marriage of the Infanta Louisa Fernanda of Spain to the Duke of Montpensier, has given rise to a correspondence between my Government and those of France and Spain:"—a fact patent to all the world, for the correspondence was laid before Parliament.

Far different was the triumphant tone in which the King of the French referred to the same event, when addressing the two Chambers:—

"The marriage of my son, the Duc de Montpensier, with my beloved niece, the Infanta of Spain, Louisa Fernanda, has completed the satisfaction and consolation which Providence has vouchsafed to my family. This union will be a fresh pledge of those good and intimate relations which have so long subsisted between France and Spain, and the maintenance of which is as desirable for the prosperity, as for the reciprocal security of the two States. . . . . Gentlemen, a common feeling animates us. You are all, like myself and my family, devoted to the happiness and grandeur of our country; and already long

experience has enlightened us as to the policy best suited to her interests, both moral and material, and which must secure its present prosperity and the future pacific and regular developement of its destinies. I expect with confidence, from your patriotism and wisdom, the cooperation necessary to the accomplishment of the great task. Let us assist each other in supporting the burden, and France will reap the fruit of our efforts."

At no time since his accession to the revolutionary throne, had Louis-Philippe obtained a Chamber of Deputies so subservient to the Court. His speech too manifestly exhibits the triumphant feeling likely to be suggested by reliance on an assured majority. But the majority in the Chambers was repudiated by the majority of the nation: every one knew that more than one half of the deputies were placemen or pensioners, dependent on the Crown, and consequently that their votes were purchased. In the debate on the question of the marriages, M. Guizot abandoned the ground he had first chosen: he retracted all that he had said about England urging the claims of the Prince of Coburg, and confessed that the young Queen's marriage was hastened to defeat the hopes of the Liberals and prevent the success of Don Enrique.

The Montpensier marriage was more difficult to be defended. M. Guizot said—and we have reason to think with truth—that it was accelerated, not by any suggestion on the part of France, but at the urgent request of Queen Christina and her ministers. This

we believe to have been indeed the fact; Christina was resolved to reign in the name of her daughter, and for this purpose it was necessary that she should be assured of the support either of France or England. It was to secure England that she urged the Coburg marriage, and when she found her advances coldly received, she deemed it necessary to secure the immediate support of France, by accelerating the union of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta.

Soon after his marriage, the Duc de Montpensier brought his bride to Paris. The Infanta, in age, and still more in appearance and manner, could only be regarded as a mere child; indeed, her very youthful aspect became the subject of countless jests throughout the French metropolis. It appeared to the lively Parisians supremely ridiculous that so much should have been said by parliamentary orators, and so much written by able diplomatists, about a poor little Duchess whom everybody looked upon as little better than a doll or a puppet. Louis-Philippe was not insensible to this ridicule; and he, therefore, took care that his new daughter-in-law should not be too much exposed to the public gaze.

By far the most injurious consequence of the Montpensier marriage was the confirmation it supplied to the growing conviction that Louis-Philippe was ready to make any sacrifice of national or personal honour that would strengthen his dynasty. For some years he had shown himself anxious to set forward his claims of legitimacy, and to insinuate that

he had an hereditary right to the Crown, which had been really bestowed on him by the free choice of the people. The doubts cast upon the legitimacy of Louis XIV. were reproduced by writers very intimately associated with the Princes of the House of Orleans, and ungenerous pains were taken to publish the shame of the unfortunate Duchess de Berri, and the consequent imputations on the legitimacy of her son. Strong hopes were entertained at the Tuilleries of winning over the Legitimatists and Royalists of the Faubourg St. Germain; and, if they could have been induced to forget the Count de Chambord, the Citizen King would have become their legitimate Monarch.

It was Louis-Philippe's object to act as the head of the House of Bourbon, and to draw closer the family ties which united him to the branches of Spain and Naples. But the Neapolitan branch, to which his Queen belonged, was most unpopular in France. For rather more than half a century the French have entertained a vague but deep-seated impression that it is at once their interest and their "mission" to establish unity and independence in Italy; they have also entertained a profound conviction that the great enemies of such a consummation are Austria and Naples, of which one holds the north and the other the south of the peninsula, both being banded together by intimate ties of family, and still more by their mutual interests. Now, during the greater part of three centuries, Austria has been regarded as the power most antagonistic to the extension of French

influence on the Continent. In fact, it has long since passed into an aphorism, that every alliance concluded between a French prince and a daughter of Austria is fraught with evil consequences to both; and Marie-Antoinette and Marie-Louise are regarded as the chief causes of the subversion of the ancient monarchy and of the modern empire. There were not wanting those who, from the very first establishment of the revolutionary throne, predicted that its security would be endangered by his connection which his marriage had established between Louis-Philippe and the unpopular Houses of Austria and Naples.

It was M. Guizot's great object to get Louis-Philippe recognised as the head of the House of Bourbon, and thus to realise the great projects which Louis XIV. had been compelled to abandon by the treaty of Utrecht. France, Spain, and Naples, united by a family compact, and having all their movements directed by the King of the French, as chief of the family, seemed a combination which would assure the permanent ascendancy of the House of Orleans. But such a combination virtually involved a renunciation of the principle of popular choice, to which the Monarch was indebted for his crown; and it further pointed to a total disruption of the cordial understanding with England; for to prevent such a combination had been equally the main object of the campaigns of Marlborough and of Wellington.

Isolated from England, Guizot's ministry had to

seek more intimate relations with the cabinet of Vienna: but the Austrian government, under the guidance of Metternich, adopted a selfish and crafty policy, which greatly added to the difficulties and perplexities of Louis-Philippe. So long as the cordial understanding subsisted between France and England, Metternich felt himself bound to respect the last vestige of Polish nationality preserved in the republic of Cracow; to abstain from interfering with the independence of Switzerland; and to treat with some leniency the Italian provinces. Metternich saw that France would be compelled to court Austria; he felt that such dependence would be confirmed, if he showed Louis-Philippe that he could at any time bring forward a legitimate claimant to contest the throne with him and his descendants. He therefore negotiated a marriage between the Count de Chambord, the legitimatist claimant of the French crown, and a daughter of the Duke of Modena. This policy succeeded; the Cracovian republic was subverted, without any interference on the part of France, beyond a feeble and inefficient protest; and Guizot found himself driven by the irresistible force of circumstances to support the anti-national, illiberal and unpopular policy of Austria, in Switzerland and Italy.

The Montpensier marriage was not in itself a matter of such great moment as to cause any disruption of amicable relations between the States of Europe. A young Prince had obtained a younger wife, the promise

of a rich dowry, and the prospect of a throne as his inheritance. The means by which these advantages had been procured were not of the most honourable description; but there was every probability that the solid advantages would remain long after the doubtful means had been forgotten. Consequences, however, were involved of the most fearful importance. Louis-Philippe virtually resigned the title to his crown derived from the choice of his people, for the more equivocal title derived from the claims of his family, and he ceased to be *de facto* King of the French when he became *de jure* head of the House of Bourbon.

The effect of this change in foreign politics was even greater. England had maintained several wars to prevent the combination of France, Spain, and Italy. This combination had been the darling object of Louis XIV.; it had been adopted by Alberoni, with the only change of giving the headship of the family to the King of Spain instead of the King of France: it was again revived by Lous XV. and defeated by the great Earl of Chatham; still more recently it had been adopted by Napoleon, when he placed his brother on the throne of Spain, and his brother-in-law on that of Naples. In all these instances it was clearly known and understood, that the combination was formed in a spirit of hostility to England, and Louis-Philippe could hardly have hoped that *any* English ministry would have seen him revive the family compact of the last century with complacency, or even with patience.

By drawing closer the relations between France and Austria, Louis-Philippe not only broke with the Revolution, but he bound himself to maintain the cause of arbitrary power against that of progress and liberty in Europe. The additional strength thus given to dynastic despotism was sure to provoke a terrible reaction: where the struggle would begin was uncertain, but few could take even a careless survey of the state of the Continent without perceiving that it was imminent.

CHAPTER XI.

PREMONITORY SYMPTOMS OF THE REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY 1848.—CONVICTION OF THE BOURGEOISIE.—SOCIALIST DOCTRINES.—AN EXAMINATION OF THEM.—THEIR PROGRESS IN FRANCE.—STATE OF RELIGION IN THAT COUNTRY. — AND OF EDUCATION. — THE TRIAL OF M. TESTE, GENERAL CERBIÈRES, AND MM. PARMENTIER AND PELLAPRA.—ACCUSATION BY M. EMILE DE GIRARDIN.—RETIREMENT OF MARSHAL SOULT.—MURDER OF THE DUCHESSE DE PRASLIN.—FEELING EXCITED BY THAT EVENT IN FRANCE. —SUICIDE OF THE COUNT DE MONTESQUIEU, AND OF COUNT DE BRESSON. — DEATH OF MADAME ADELAIDE.—ITS EFFECT ON LOUIS-PHILIPPE. — THE LIST OF DESTINIES.—SURRENDER OF ABD-EL-KADER.—THE REFORM BANQUETS IN FRANCE.—HOW REFERRED TO BY LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

When some of the most eminent European statesmen and publicists expressed their fear that the Montpensier marriage would endanger the throne of Louis-Philippe, they founded their alarm, not on the event itself, but on the policy of which it was a manifestation. They believed that it broadly revealed to France what had hitherto been only suspected,—to wit, that the policy of the King was dynastic rather than national, and that he sought the aggrandisement of the Bourbon family, and not the happiness or greatness of the French people. Louis-Philippe had forgotten that he had been chosen King of the French, *although* he was a Bourbon, and wished it to be believed that he held the throne *because* he was of that family. This was a direct renunci-

ation of the Revolution of 1830; Louis-Philippe was in avowed antagonism to the principles which had placed him on the throne.

Amiable and estimable as she was in private life, the Queen of the French had never gained popularity. Closely connected by blood with the despotic Houses of Austria and Naples, she could hardly escape the suspicion of illiberal tendencies, and she seemed herself to acquiesce in the imputation. It was known that she had ascended the throne with great reluctance, and that she considered the violation of principle which set aside the elder branch of the Bourbons as a sin that was sure to bring some dire misfortune on her family. Every time Louis-Philippe had to appear in public without her, she was said to retire to her oratory, and continue on her knees in prayers and tears until the period of his return. It is not, therefore, surprising that she felt the death of her eldest son, under the painful circumstances already described, to be a sign of the divine displeasure. Hence she caused an expiatory chapel to be erected over the spot where he breathed his last, and frequently visited its sacred precincts to give vent to her affliction. She deeply lamented the unpopularity of the Jesuits and the Ultramontane Catholics in France, even going so far as to give her patronage to several religious confraternities, whose constitutions were scarcely reconcilable with the law against associations. She supported the cause of Queen Christina in Spain against the Progresistas,

not merely from family attachment to her niece, but because Christina was anxious to maintain the rights and privileges of the Church and the clergy. All her early recollections, and every relation she naturally maintained with her family, rendered her hostile to the progress of constitutional liberty in Italy, which she believed likely to produce the subversion of the Neapolitan dynasty. Thus, the Queen had no sympathies for any Revolution save that which had placed her husband on the throne of France, and even for this her feelings were rather those of toleration than approval.

The Princes of the House of Orleans, with, perhaps, the exception of Joinville, were not popular with the *bourgeoisie* of Paris. Nemours was positively disliked for the cold haughtiness of his demeanour, and the offensive forms in which he too frequently manifested his pride.

The strength of the throne lay in the deep conviction of the *bourgeoisie* that the only alternative presented to France was monarchy or anarchy. They believed, and not without reason, that a Republic would be a perpetual struggle against the rights of property, and though thoroughly alienated from the King, they were still anxious to preserve and perpetuate the monarchy.

But the Republicans, though a minority, were active, enterprising, and enthusiastic. They believed that it was their party which had effected the Revolution of February, and that they had been cheated

out of its fruits by the false pretences and promises of the partisans of the House of Orleans. Louis Blanc's "History of Ten Years" was, in fact, a great republican manifesto: it had an immense sale, and its success proved the extent of the disappointment produced by the conduct of the Monarch. We repeat that the *bourgeoisie* was infinitely more monarchical than republican, but at the same time the *bourgeoisie* was heartily weary of Louis-Philippe personally, and of his system politically.

Descending lower in the scale of society, it was known that the most dangerous democratic passions and the most perilous anti-social sentiments were rife among the operative classes. The pernicious principle, that the rights of capital are opposed to those of labour, was most sedulously inculcated; the employed were taught to believe that the profits of masters were unfair abstractions from the earnings of the workmen, and they were led to hope for an "organisation of labour" as would enable all producers to enjoy an equal participation in profits.

As many writers of name and reputation have given their sanction to this dangerous nonsense both in France and England, we may be permitted to say a few words in order to expose its utter fallacy. Operatives cannot be associated in profits with manufacturers, because it is impossible that they should be associated in losses; if profits were distributed as fast as they were made, there would be no reserved fund to meet contingent losses, and therefore these

losses should be abstracted from the working capital. But such an abstraction would diminish the power of production, and consequently the power of giving employment; so that by insisting on distribution, the operatives would simply be enacting the part of the clown, who killed the goose that laid the golden eggs.

Wages are paid out of profits, profits are derived from prices, and prices are determined by competition in an open market. The advocates for the organisation of labour, therefore, must be prepared to show that they can get rid of competition. They confess the difficulty, and accept it; but they have never yet offered a solution of the problem. If one man can produce cheaper than another, he can afford to sell cheaper than another, and he will do so because expansion of sale is the surest expansion of profits. How is this to be prevented? Is it practicable, even if it were desirable, to put an end to mechanical invention and to every improvement in manufacturing processes, all of which necessarily cheapen production? "Let there be," say the Fourierists, "a reserve fund to buy up inventions, and remunerate the inventors." Be it so; but then there is a certain amount of skill and dexterity required in the management of these inventions, which can neither be bought nor sold in the market. People cannot sell natural aptitude nor acquired dexterity. It is not enough to equalise machinery: in order to destroy competition, the good workman must be put upon a level with the bad.

The proposed "organisation of labour" would be confessedly both unjust and impracticable if it were not applicable to every form of production. But how is it possible to equalise all the conditions of production? Some depend on natural differences of climate, soil, supply of water, &c., over which no legislature can exercise control; others are variable and fluctuating,—such, for instance, as those which depend on atmospheric changes, &c. How can such conditions be equalised? Obviously Fourrierism, or the organisation of labour, could only be carried into effect by the united agencies of Omnipotence and Omniscience, constantly exercised and constantly engaged in making fresh adjustments to secure equality.

Although the object of all strikes, combinations, trades-unions, and Chartist associations in Great Britain has been to secure a larger share in the distribution of profits,—that is, higher wages than the capitalist or employer was willing, or perhaps able, to afford, the total abolition of the competitive system is an absurdity that never made much way with British operatives, and has rarely been advocated to its full extent except by Robert Owen and the followers of his school. In France it was the almost universal creed of the working classes at the time of the Revolution, and was advocated by some of the most able and popular writers, including Victor Considérant, Louis Blanc, Eugène Sue, and that *unsexed* woman who has taken the name of George Sand.

Two causes may be assigned for this difference.

In the first place, some of the most dangerous errors of Socialism, Communism, or Fourrierism, are involved in that system of protection to French manufactures which Louis-Philippe's government maintained with the most obstinate pertinacity. Every restriction on free trade—that is, on the free exchange of commodities at their natural price, as fixed by unlimited competition in free and open market—is an indirect recognition of the dangerous error that profits can be guaranteed by artificial means and legislative restrictions. The French operatives logically argued that, if it were possible to maintain an artificial rate of profits, it must be equally possible to maintain an artificial scale of wages; and there was obvious justice in their complaint that, while securing profits to the manufacturers was the avowed object of a long series of protective laws, no provision whatever was made for securing wages to the operatives. It was absurd to attempt either; but it was monstrously unjust to insist on the one and neglect the other.

The passion of the French for "equality," to which they are at all times ready to sacrifice every principle of rational or constitutional liberty, has made the lower classes almost irreconcilable enemies of the wealthier *bourgeoisie*. The clever author of "Analogies and Contrasts," * has shown that, in the pursuit

* The following sketch of the state of feeling prevalent among the lower orders in France, is remarkable for its graphic reality, and suggests many painful but instructive considerations.

"In truth, the mere fact of one man's occupying a saddle or

of an abstract and unattainable equality, the French have consented and submitted to the most unjustifiable restraints upon liberty. When Louis Blanc proclaimed in 1840, that the *bourgeoisie* was as oppressive and tyrannical in its government of the middle classes, as the feudal aristocracy of the middle ages

carriage-seat suffices to render him odious to another, who, in his turn, being habited in a frock-coat and round hat, inspires a third, clad only in a smock, jacket, or cap, with profound aversion, because each personifies in the other the injustice he conceives society has done him, by not giving to him that which the other enjoys.

"His wish is not generally to be defined, as it has been attempted by the

'Ote toi de là que je m'y mette.'
Turn out to let me turn in.'

"On the contrary, the pedestrian has no desire to usurp the place of him who rides, drives, or is driven along; the man of the people has no wish to array himself in the fine cloth of the wealthier classes.

"The longing of both, is to pull the occupant of the carriage or the saddle out of either, not to step in or on to it, but to oblige the object of his envy to go like himself on foot; whilst the man of the people in his turn would deprive the wealthier classes of their commodious dwellings, and garments of fine cloth, not to dwell in the one, or don the other, but to reduce those who do to inhabit a hovel or a garret like his own, and to adopt his menial garb.

"Now, this is an undeniable feeling of envy, and though the rancour inspired in an individual by the mere fact of another possessing a house, an equipage, or a coat, which he has not, is scarcely so contemptible as the respect and reverence paid in England to the mere possession of the house, the lands, the equipage, and even the coat, it is far more pernicious in its social tendency."—*Analogies and Contrasts*, i., 169.

had been, the wicked falsehood was taken up and adopted by a large body of journalists, who have ever since sedulously laboured to propagate the doctrine. It was a common saying in Paris so early as 1843, that there must be a decisive battle between the Boulevards and the Faubourgs; it was also a proverb, that the safety of the Monarchy was identified with that of the middle classes, and that the lower orders were the natural enemies of both. France was thus menaced with a Jacquerie of its cities and towns, and a popular insurrection against social order, property, and all the economical institutions that are essential to the tranquillity and well-being of a community.

This so-called "social" movement, directed not so much against the government as against the class by which the government was supported, did not at first excite alarm or attention; it was not identified with political opposition; it seldom appeared in the Chambers, and, save as a matter of philosophical curiosity, was never discussed in any fashionable circle. Pestilent doctrines were allowed to pervert the whole operative mind of France without any effort being made to check their diffusion or counteract their influence. Religion would have been an effective counterpoise; but the influence of religion was and is practically unknown in the great cities of France. It is true that in Parisian society atheism was rarely avowed, and infidelity seldom put forward in conversation: the French form of irreligion was a profound

and universal indifference on the subject,—a dislike to earnest conviction of any kind." It was considered equally objectionable to be a sincere infidel or a sincere Christian,—to make a point of going to church or of staying at home. The bigot and the earnest sceptic were placed in the same category: to believe sincerely or to doubt sincerely were phenomena equally rare.

The operative classes, generally speaking, but more especially those residing in the Faubourgs of Paris, viewed both religion and the clergy with something more than indifference. They regarded both with aversion; they looked upon the priests as allies of the middle classes and agents of the government; they were taught to regard religion as a "cunningly devised fable," invented to maintain what they were taught to consider as the iniquitous ascendancy of the capitalists and manufacturing classes. Still, this aversion was largely mixed with that reckless indifference which pervaded general society. The Parisian operative rarely attended public worship himself, but he still more rarely inquired whether his family received or neglected religious instruction.

This indifference pervaded no small portion of the clerical body. There were some bigots who supposed that it would be possible to revive the mediæval influence of the priesthood; there were a few enthusiasts who sought to combine the simplicity of the Gospel with their speculative sentimentalities; but far the greater number discussed every question

more in reference to their interests as a body corporate, than its bearings on the more sacred duties of their office. This was particularly the case with the great question of National Education.

In France the education of youth, from the highest to the lowest, is a civil department of the State. All colleges and schools, from the highest to the lowest, are subject to the supervision and control of the university, which is itself ruled by the Minister of Public Instruction. The French clergy insisted on withdrawing their schools from the control of the university, while the latter body as obstinately persevered in subjecting them to inspection. Montalembert, below the level of mediocrity as a statesman, but not destitute of talent as a speaker, was the advocate of the clerical claims in the legislature; but he supported them by arguments which justified his opponents in asserting that he wished to revive the spiritual despotism of the monkish ages.

Considerable rancour was introduced into the education question by the intermeddling of the Jesuits. It has been the destiny of the disciples of Loyola to excite alarm throughout Europe by the real or supposed magnitude of their designs, and to fail in every one of their enterprises from the vigilance and hostility which their activity awakened. It was so in France: they interfered in everything, and displeased or terrified everybody. Having just so much activity as brought upon them general suspicion, they found themselves helpless, outnumbered and over-

powered whenever they provoked a contest. In fact, the only result of their exertions was to show that the number of sincere Catholics formed but a fractional minority of the population of France.

The moral condition of French or rather of Parisian society could not be adequately discussed in the very limited space which could be devoted to the subject in these pages; but there were some illustrations of its rottenness in 1847, which greatly hastened the catastrophe of 1848, and must not therefore be passed over.

On the 8th of July, a State trial commenced at Paris, which from the high station of the parties, and the nature of the charges brought against them, excited very general interest. The persons accused were M. Test, formerly Minister of Public Works, General Cubières, a peer of France, M. Parmentier, and M. Pellapra. It appeared that the General and M. Parmentier had paid through M. Pellapra a bribe of 100,000 francs (4,000*l.*) to M. Teste, in order to obtain, at a very inadequate rent, the lease of certain salt-mines belonging to the nation. During the course of the proceedings M. Teste made an attempt to commit suicide; one pistol, however, missed fire, and the ball of the other did not penetrate the flesh, but fell to the ground, leaving a black mark on the waistcoat and skin. The trial was not interrupted by this incident: all the parties were convicted, and sentenced to civil degradation, fine, and imprisonment.

But the impression produced on the public was,

that corruption pervaded every branch of the administration, that M. Teste was not more guilty than many others who, more clever, or more fortunate than he, had contrived to evade detection. In fact, a letter from General Cubières to M. Parmentier, read at the trial, contained the following passage:—"Remember, my dear sir, that the Government is placed in greedy and corrupt hands; that the liberty of the press runs great risk of being suppressed without noise, one of these days, and that right never stood more in need of protection than at this moment."

While these charges of corruption were under investigation, and before the parties were put upon their trial, an article appeared in *La Presse*, a journal of which M. Emile de Girardin, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, was editor, stating that the promise of a peerage had been sold for 80,000 francs. Upon this, the Chamber of Peers demanded permission from the Chamber of Deputies to prosecute M. E. de Girardin, as a calumniator of their body. In the course of the debate to which this demand gave rise, M. E. de Girardin disclaimed all intention of insulting the peers, and declared his readiness to justify himself, if summoned before that body. On the 22nd of June, he appeared before the Chamber of Peers: he repeated the charge without offering any proof of its truth; but said that, as the alleged promise of a peerage had not been fulfilled, his accusation could not affect any member of their illustrious body. With this strange plea the peers were satisfied, and M. E. de Girardin was

acquitted. An effort was made to have the scandal investigated by the Chamber of Deputies; but it was strenuously resisted by the ministers, and of course rejected by their obsequious majority.

At the end of the session, Marshal Soult retired from the cabinet, and was succeeded in the presidency of the council by M. Guizot. In order to mark his sense of the illustrious services rendered to France by the retiring veteran, Louis-Philippe created him Marshal-General of France, and thus revived an honour which had only been granted twice before; once in 1660, in the case of Marshal Turenne; and afterwards in 1732, in the case of Marshal Villars. Few could deny that such an honour had been merited by the Duke of Dalmatia; but the appointment excited much dissatisfaction, since the title revived the memory of the worst period of the despotism practised by the elder branch of the Bourbons.

A fearful domestic tragedy increased the popular odium into which the general belief in their corruption had sunk the higher classes in France. It is, indeed, impossible to describe the horror produced, not only in France but throughout Europe, by the atrocious murder in Paris of the Duchesse Choiseul Praslin, on the morning of the 18th of August. The lady was the only daughter of Marshal Sebastiani, one of the most distinguished officers of the Empire; in consequence of her father's high rank and official appointments, she was well known in the aristocratic and diplomatic circles of almost every capital; but par-

ticularly at the Court of London, whither she had accompanied Sebastiani when he was ambassador to England. She was forty-one years of age, and the mother of nine children.

Between four and five o'clock on the morning of the 18th, the Duchess's waiting-maid, who slept in the room above her mistress, was awakened by the noise of a bell pulled with great violence. She rushed down stairs, but was unable to open the door of her mistress's apartment; but hearing a feeble groan, she alarmed the other domestics, by whose united efforts the door was forced open. The Duchess was found on the floor, in a pool of blood, exhibiting scarcely a sign of life. The shrieks of the servants aroused the Duc de Praslin, who, as is the custom in France, slept in an adjoining apartment. He hastened to the spot, threw himself on the bleeding body of his wife, which he embraced, and exhibited signs of the deepest emotion. Surgical assistance was summoned, but it was in vain; the unfortunate lady died two hours afterwards, without having spoken a single word, or apparently recovered the slightest consciousness. It appeared that she had received more than fifty wounds from a dirk or poniard; but this was not the only proof that, though she had been surprised in her sleep, she had offered the most energetic resistance to the assassin. A little table had been overthrown; porcelains and some other objects of art were scattered on the floor; the drapery on the wall bore traces of a bloody hand; the rope of the bell which had roused

the chamber-maid, was stained with blood, and finally, between the clasped fingers of the left hand there was some of the murderer's hair, whilst locks of the same hair, pulled out in the struggle, were scattered on the floor, to which they were fixed by the coagulated blood.

On searching the Duke's sleeping-chamber, which was found to be in complete disorder, evidence was found which conclusively proved that he must have been his wife's murderer. One of the articles discovered was a pistol loaded with ball and ready primed. This weapon, which was recognised as belonging to the Duc de Praslin, was not only stained with blood into which it had fallen, but particles of human flesh were attached to the butt-end of it, and the mark of the ducal coronet on the pistol was stamped on the head of the victim.

The Duke was taken into custody, and an ordinance was issued convening the Chamber of Peers for his trial. In spite of the vigilance of the police he contrived to swallow a strong dose of poison, but powerful emetics were administered, and the action of the poison was arrested. He was then removed to the prison of the Luxembourg and placed under medical care, but whether he obtained a second dose of poison, or whether the first had been imperfectly counteracted, fatal symptoms appeared, and he died in the greatest agony.

One of the most alarming symptoms of the state of public feeling in Paris was the exultation which largely mingled with the horror produced by this

atrocious murder. The mob expressed ferocious delight at such a crime having been perpetrated by an aristocrat of the ancient peerage, and who was closely connected with the Court, for the Duc de Praslin held the office of Grand Chamberlain to the Duchess of Orleans. A burst of indignation followed the announcement of his suicide. It was asserted, and not without some show of probability, that the official authorities had connived at the suicide, to prevent the scandal of a man of such high rank being brought before a public tribunal, and probably condemned to an ignominious execution for so horrible a crime.

Scarcely had the public recovered from the first effects of this crime when it was agitated by the intelligence of the suicide of Count Alfred de Montesquieu, Chevalier d'Honneur to the Queen, and formerly aide-de-camp to Napoleon. He was found by one of his domestics lying dead, stabbed through the heart with a poniard. No motive for his suicide could be discovered, and some suspicions were entertained that he was the victim of a murder which the police, for some reasons of State, had been forbidden to investigate. Two days after, it was reported that the Prince d'Eckmuhl had attempted to murder his mistress; but the story was only partially true. It appeared that the Prince in a fit of derangement had wounded a woman to whom he was attached, and had betrayed other signs of insanity, which rendered it necessary to consign him to the care of a physician.

On the 2nd of November the Comte de Bresson, the successful negotiator of the Spanish marriages, committed suicide at Naples. He had very reluctantly accepted the Neapolitan embassy, having earnestly entreated the King of the French to send him either to London or St. Petersburg. He seems to have thought that a degree of censure on his Spanish diplomacy was implied in his appointment to an inferior Court, and he spoke very bitterly of the ingratitude with which his services in effecting the double marriages had been repaid. His anxiety to be appointed to London alarmed and annoyed Louis-Philippe, who pressed his immediate departure for Italy. The parting between the King and his negotiator was said to have been far from cordial. At Naples, however, he was very graciously received, and was apparently flattered by the personal attentions of the King. He paid a visit to the opera, and soon after his return home cut his throat with a razor, which was found close by his body. From the care with which all his testamentary dispositions had been made, it seems probable that he had contemplated self-destruction before leaving Paris.

A more severe blow to Louis-Philippe was the loss of his sister, Madame Adelaide, to whose firmness of purpose he owed in no small degree his elevation to the throne, whose advice had guided him in many subsequent difficulties, and whose sympathy had sustained him through periods of distress and depression. She was painfully aware that a new and more doubt-

ful contest was impending, and her principal regret at quitting life was, that she could not stand by her beloved brother in the hour of the perils which she too clearly foresaw. Her death produced a greater effect on Louis-Philippe than the premature loss of his eldest son. He had borne up against grief with manliness if not with stoicism, when the beloved and popular Duke of Orleans lay before him senseless and expiring; but at the funeral of his sister he gave full vent to his emotion and sobbed aloud. He was brought back to his palace in a state of utter prostration, and he said to his second son, the Duc de Nemours, who was amazed at an excess of grief almost amounting to despair,—"The strength of the Orleans dynasty is broken!"

He was not alone in that belief. His friends and his enemies equally believed that the prudent advice of Madame Adelaide was the best security of the Monarchy. Where true religion has ceased to influence, a belief in fatality, destiny, or what may be called "luck," is almost invariably found to prevail. This superstition prevails in France to an extent that can hardly be appreciated on this side of the Channel. In England, the accumulated horrors of 1847 produced a very painful impression; in France they inspired a conviction that Fate had turned against the House of Orleans, and that its star was sinking in the horizon.

This feeling was embodied in a paper studiously but mysteriously circulated; it was printed in the form of

a hand-bill, and the secret of its authorship has never been revealed. It was entitled—

"A List of Destinies, fatally linked to Louis-Philippe.

"*Cassimir Perrier*, died mad of anger and despair.

"*Lafitte*, the opulent banker, sponsor (*le parrain*) for the Revolution of 1830, died, ruined in fortune, and overwhelmed by grief and remorse.

"*Marshal Mortier* fell a victim to Fieschi's infernal-machine.

"*M. Hermann*, Minister of Finance, terrified by the approach of bankruptcy, was struck down by a fit of apoplexy.

"*M. Pojol*, the hero of Rambouillet, died in consequence of a fall down the staircase of the Tuilleries.

"*M. Gusquet* saw his political life closed in all the disgrace of a most scandalous legal process.

"*M. Villemain* was seized by a fit of mental aberration, which led to absolute insanity, in the midst of his ministerial functions.

"*M. Martin* (*du Nord*), Minister of Justice and Public Worship, died insane.

"*His Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans*, without any external wound, or even an apparent physical cause of death, lost his life by merely jumping out of a carriage.

"*MM. Cubières and Teste*, both ancient Ministers and Peers of France, both equally dishonoured and

degraded; the latter endeavoured to commit suicide, and has been condemned to a long imprisonment.

"*The Duc de Praslin*, Peer of France and Chamberlain to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Orleans, put an end to his life by poison, after having perpetrated the most odious of crimes.

"*The Prince d'Eckmuhl*, another Peer of France, a friend from his youth of the House of Orleans, escaped the consequences of atrocious crime only by obvious insanity.

"*Count de Bresson*, the able diplomatist, who negotiated the Spanish marriages, and was afterwards appointed ambassador to Naples and Peer of France, committed suicide at the moment when his success astonished Europe.

"*Madame Adelaide* * * * *"

Louis-Philippe's system of government, thoroughly demoralised and utterly discredited, could not possibly endure. Every public incident and every private scandal increased the general conviction that the whole system of administration and legislation was rotten throughout. Even the gratification of national pride, and the French passion for military glory, did not alter the general current. Intelligence was received of the complete pacification of Algeria: Abd-el-Kader, who had so long maintained a desperate war against the French power in Africa, surrendered to the Duc d'Aumale, a younger son of Louis-Philippe, and was transmitted a prisoner to Marseilles. His

detention was a violation of the terms on which he capitulated; but the ministers were anxious to gratify the national vanity by exhibiting the great enemy of the French name as a captive. This important event, however, was received with great coldness; there were few addresses of congratulation, and even these displayed very little ardour or enthusiasm.

During the long session of 1847, the Parliamentary Opposition, though a powerless minority in the Chamber, exhibited a zeal, energy, and activity, which fixed the attention of the country on their exposures of the baseness of men in power, and the venality of the legislature. A motion for electoral and parliamentary reform was brought forward with great ability by M. Duvergier de Hauranne, but it was rejected by a majority of 252 against 154. It was a victory of the ministry infinitely more dangerous than a defeat.

Worsted in the Chamber, but firmly resolved on the attainment of their object, the Reformers appealed to the nation, and met a response far more ardent than they could have anticipated. A series of demonstrations was organised under the name of Reform banquets, which were designed to give concentration and force to public opinion. Paris set the example of these demonstrations; the banquet at the Château Rouge was the first manifestation of the new movement, the object of which was declared to be "to array union, order, and discipline, against the disorder and anarchy into which the government had fallen."

The best friends of the Monarchy felt great alarm

at this decided secession of the middle classes from the cause of which they had been hitherto the chief stay and support. They saw that the country responded to the capital. At the first banquet, M. Odillon Barrot complained of the apathy and political indifference which pervaded France; but it soon appeared that a different spirit had been aroused. Reform banquets were given at Colmar, Strasbourg, Bar-le-Duc, Epinal, Coulommier, Rheims, Soissons, St. Quentin, Compiègne, Arras, Amiens, Avesnes, Béthune, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Maubenge, Rouen, Forges, Le Neubourg, Damville, St. Denis, Chartres, L'ile-en-Jourdain, Montargis, Orléans, Melun, La Chanté, Autun, Châteaudun, Limoges, Vitré, Loudeac, Rochechouart, Saintes, Périgueux, Condom, Castres, Montpellier, Valence, Saint Marcellin, Pont-de-Voisin, Romans, Vienne, and Lyons. In all these places, the banquets were attended by the *élite* of the middle class, in unexpected numbers. No attachment was manifested for republicanism, but an alienation from the Monarch, though not probably, from monarchy, was significantly intimated by the omission of the King's name from the list of toasts.

Constitutionalists and Democrats joined in these demonstrations, without caring to conceal that they entertained very different views and hopes. Some of the leaders and orators, expressing the general feelings of the *bourgeoisie*, limited themselves to expressing a desire for such reforms as they deemed necessary to consolidate the constitutional monarchy and to secure

the results promised by the Revolution of 1830; others—the most energetic, though not the most numerous, party—insisted not merely on Reform, but on a total and radical change of system. The Gironde and Mountain were already revived.

Ministers began to feel some alarm. Duchatel, referring to the Moderates, said, "We are playing double or quits;" but he did not jest in his notice of the Jacobins and Democrats. He declared with undisguised alarm, to an English friend, "Our government is everywhere undermined by the clubs and the secret societies." As Minister of the Interior, Duchatel had better evidence of the danger that menaced the throne than any of his colleagues, and yet no one was more opposed to averting it by adopting the policy of concession.

It must, however, be confessed, that the Reformers manifested little unity of purpose or harmony of sentiment in their manifestations. Distrusts, menaces, and exclusions marked the first campaign of the opposition, after it had quitted the arena of the legislative Chambers, and appealed to the country at large. These dissensions were greedily seized upon by the government journals and represented as fatal to the chances of the Reform movement. The premature exultation of the ministerial journalists was shared by the ministers themselves; unsparing ridicule was poured upon the heads of the Reformers, and in many of these attacks it was not difficult to discover the personal spleen and passions of Louis-Philippe himself.

Madame Adelaide and some of the younger Princes of the House of Orleans endeavoured to dissuade the King of the French from thus defying and irritating a party whose principles were becoming daily more popular; but instead of listening to these remonstrances, Louis-Philippe introduced a gratuitous and insulting attack on the Reformers into the Royal speech, which he delivered at the opening of the second session of the Chambers, on the 28th of December. He said:

GENTLEMEN,—The more I advance in life, the more I dedicate with devotedness to the service of France, to the care of her interest, dignity, and happiness, all activity and strength which God has given me and still vouchsafes me. *Amidst the agitation that blind and hostile passions foment,* a conviction animates and supports me, which is, that we possess in the constitutional Monarchy—in the union of the great powers of the State — sure means of overcoming all those obstacles, and of satisfying all interests, moral and material. Let us firmly maintain, according to the charter, social order and all its conditions. Let us guarantee, according to the charter, the public liberties and all their developements. We shall transmit unimpaired to the generations that may come after us, the trust confided to us, and they will bless us for having founded and defended the edifice under shelter of which they will live happy and free."

Great indignation was naturally felt by the moderate

section of the Reformers, when they found their constitutional projects identified with those of the violent Republicans, and described as blind and wicked in the Royal speech. They exerted themselves with great spirit and vigour to have the offensive words excluded from the Address of the Chambers, which, as usual, was merely an echo of the speech. Guizot, however, adhered to the obnoxious words with a pertinacity which savoured more of passion than policy, and even added terms still more offensive.

"Sire," said the proposed Address, "in devoting yourself to the advancement of our country, with that courage which nothing abates, not even the calamities which smote you in your dearest affections; in consecrating your life and that of your children to the care of our interests and our dignity, you daily strengthen that edifice which we and you have founded conjointly. Count always on our support to aid you in its defence. *Agitation, raised by hostile passions or blind impulses,* will fall before public reason, enlightened by our free discussions, by the manifestation of all legitimate opinions in a constitutional monarchy. The union of the great powers of the State surmounts all obstacles, and permits us to satisfy all the moral and rational interests of our country. By this union, Sire, we will maintain social order and its conditions; we will guarantee the public liberties and all their developments. Our charter of 1830, transmitted by us to succeeding generations as an inviolable deposit, will assure to them the most precious heritage that it

is granted to nations to receive—the alliance between public order and public freedom."

The Monarch and his ministers had thus thrown down the gauntlet to the majority of the nation. The challenge was readily accepted.

CHAPTER XII.

PROHIBITION OF THE REFORM BANQUETS.—PROCEEDINGS CONTEMPLATED IN CONSEQUENCE.—LOUIS BLANC, LEDRU ROLLIN, AND LAMARTINE.—FEELING OF THE PEOPLE OF PARIS FOR A REPUBLIC.—THE REFORM BANQUET ADJOURNED.—EXULTATION OF THE COURT.—QUIETUDE OF PARIS.—IT IS DISTURBED.—THE REVOLUTION BEGUN.—OPERATIONS OF THE MULTITUDE.—THE NATIONAL GUARDS CALLED OUT.—TEMPER OF THAT BODY.—MILITARY COMMAND OF PARIS ENTRUSTED TO MARSHAL BUGEAUD.—RESIGNATION OF M. GUIZOT.—COUNT MOLÉ SENT FOR.—THE REVOLUTION ON ITS COURSE.—THE BRIEF MINISTRY OF M. THIERS.—THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS AND HER SON IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.—FATAL ERROR OF M. SAUZET.—A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT APPOINTED.—SUCCESSFUL ASSAULT ON THE PALAIS ROYAL.—FLIGHT OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE.—MEASURES OF M. LAMARTINE.—FEELING OF THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE TOWARDS THE REPUBLIC.—SHIFTS OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE IN HIS FLIGHT.—HE ARRIVES IN ENGLAND.—CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

EVERY one saw that some crisis was impending when Reform was denounced in a speech from the throne. On what issue the contest would turn was uncertain, when M. Duchatel put an end to doubt, by prohibiting the Reform banquet, which was announced for the 19th of January, by the electors of the twelfth *arrondissement*, the most democratic part of Paris. There could have been no danger in permitting this demonstration; in all the preliminary meetings, it had been resolved that the proceedings should be strictly limited to the advancement of parliamentary Reform. The members of

the committee of management had been elected by open vote, and their names ought to have been a sufficient guarantee that under their auspices nothing would be permitted inconsistent with public safety or social order. Most of the members were either officers of the Twelfth Legion of the National Guard, or persons holding situations connected with the municipality.

It was at first proposed that all the deputies pledged to the cause of Reform should resign in a body, and thus throw the government into the excitement of one hundred and fifty new elections. One member only, M. Emile de Girardin, took this course; the rest resolved to persevere with the Reform demonstrations, and to have the question of their legality decided by the judicial authorities of the realm. The Republicans were a very fractional minority; but they were active, enterprising, and vigilant; they resolved to watch events, and avail themselves of opportunities. Louis Blanc secretly organised associations of workmen in the Faubourgs, who were only to move when he gave the signal, and who were then to obey his directions with implicit submission. Ledru Rollin collected around him a determined band of Republican leaders, and Lamartine set forth his poetical, though most vague and indefinite, creed of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

Still the very idea of a Republic was odious to the great majority of the people of France, but

more especially to the mercantile and shop-keepin, class in Paris. A reconciliation with the government was ardently desired, and even the slightest appearance of concession on the part of the King would have restored to him the middle classes, the true strength of the Monarchy. But after having once declared against all projects of Reform, the King and his minister deemed it a point of honour to persevere; while the deputies of the Opposition, and the Reform party generally, were too deeply committed to allow of their receding without disgrace.

It was a serious error of the ministers to precipitate the strife; but for the arbitrary and unwise demonstrations of M. Duchatel, the banquet of the twelfth *arrondissement* would have been a mere local affair, troublesome and turbulent in all probability, but neither permanent nor extensive in its results. But the prohibition issued by the police made it the centre to which every angry and ambitious passion in France gravitated, as if by some physical impulse.

The first result of the interference of the police was, that the committee of management resolved to make the demonstration metropolitan, instead of confining it to one *arrondissement*. They felt that the gravest of constitutional questions, the right of free discussion, was at issue, and they resolved to give all possible importance to the occasion on which it was to be decided. It was originally intended that

the banquet should take place on Sunday, the 20th of February; but the preliminary arrangements not having been completed, it was deferred until Tuesday, when it was announced that it would take place in a field beyond the Champs Elysées, just outside the Arc de Triomphe at the barrier de l'Etoile. We believe that there was a further reason for the change; the moderate reformers were afraid of the influence which the Republicans had gained over the operatives, and they hoped that a less number of these would congregate on a working-day than on a holiday.

As the time approached, some signs of doubt and hesitation were exhibited on both sides. It was understood, in fact it had been tacitly agreed upon, that the interference of the government would be limited to a protest and formal denunciation of the proceedings by some civil functionary, and that on the refusal of the assembled multitude to disperse, proceedings should be instituted against the leaders, so as to ensure that the legality or illegality of the meeting should be finally determined by a court of justice. On the other hand, the deputies of the opposition, and the great majority of the committee of management, had resolved that only one toast should be given, "Reform and the right of meeting," which was to be proposed by M. Odillon Barrot, and that after his speech the assembly should quietly disperse.

Unfortunately, a portion of the committee of management, although not, we believe, a majority of that body, resolved to superadd a procession to the ban-

quet. They issued a programme, inviting the deputies of the opposition to assemble at the Place de la Madeleine between eleven and twelve o'clock, while the other guests were to be marshalled in La Place de la Concorde, and then, both bodies uniting, were to march through the avenue of the Champs Elysées, between a double line of the National Guards, who were invited to attend in their uniforms, but without arms. It was said, that ten thousand National Guards were ready to obey the summons; but we have good reason to believe that one half of that number would not have taken part in the demonstration.

The ministers regarded the publication of this manifesto as a breach of the compact into which they had entered with the reformers. In the afternoon of Monday they issued a proclamation prohibiting the banquet: a placard denouncing the illegality of the proposed procession was published by the prefect of police, and General Jacqueminot, as general of the National Guard, put forth an order of the day, showing that the law prohibited the assembling of that body by any but the proper authorities. When the Chamber of Deputies assembled, M. Odillon Barrot interrogated the Minister of the Interior respecting this prohibition, which M. Duchatel defended by pointing out the illegal and dangerous character of the proposed procession. M. Odillon Barrot was himself obviously uneasy and disposed to recede; he declared, that he neither avowed nor disavowed the manifesto of the committee, but he defended its object, which he

described to be, the surrounding of the proposed demonstration with every possible guarantee for the preservation of public order.

At a later hour in the evening, the leading deputies of the opposition, and the principal members of the committee of management, were assembled at the residence of M. Odillon Barrot. It was proposed by the moderate party that the banquet should be indefinitely adjourned; but this proposition was strenuously resisted by Lamartine and others, who courted a collision with the government. Finally, the moderate party prevailed; but not until the discussion had assumed an angry and stormy character, which threatened to lead to personal violence. Odillon Barrot promised to impeach ministers for their illegal interference, while Lamartine protested that such a proceeding in a Chamber of which two thirds were ministerialists, would be supremely ridiculous. The majority, however, coincided with M. Odillon Barrot, and an address was prepared, and to some extent published, announcing that the banquet had been abandoned, and that the ministers would be impeached for their interference.

There was great exultation at the Tuilleries when it was known that the Reformers had thus virtually given up the contest. But more alarming intelligence arrived in the course of the night. An unusual agitation had been observed in the clubs, and meetings of operatives and students had been held by torchlight, in which it was unanimously resolved that the pro-

posed demonstration should not be abandoned. A collision was therefore inevitable.

Tuesday, the 21st of February, was a fine but rather cold day: a sharp frost had given a bracing elasticity to the air, and the Northern Boulevards, the fashionable promenade of Paris, began to exhibit signs of activity at an earlier hour than usual. The lovers of luxurious breakfasts strolled to their favourite *cafés;* the clerks employed in the rich shops and warehouses went cheerily to their respective occupations; the lovers of ease and quiet congratulated each other on getting rid of the menaced demonstration, and a few turbulent spirits growled over their disappointment in losing a scene of excitement. But about nine o'clock the scene changed; numerous groups of operatives and labourers were seen descending the line of the Boulevards towards the Place de la Concorde: alarmed tradesmen began to shut their shops and *cafés;* and all who rose late found their favourite haunts closed, and either retired to their hotels or sought their breakfasts at the houses of *restaurateurs* out of the line which was occupied by the crowd.

About an hour later, some movement became apparent at the other side of the Seine. The students of law and medicine assembled in front of the Pantheon to the number of about two thousand, and having formed double files, began their march. On reaching the quay, they met a column of operatives about as numerous as their own; the two

parties fraternised, and, uniting into one body, marched in good order to the open space in the front of La Madeleine. Vast crowds soon collected, blocking up not only this space, but all the adjacent streets. They amused themselves for some time by singing the *Marseillaise*, or raising seditious cries, apparently waiting the coming of the deputies belonging to the opposition, with whose change of purpose the greater part of the multitude was unacquainted.

Indignation and rage spread through the mob when it became known that the procession and banquet had been abandoned. One section of the crowd went off to demand an explanation from M. Odillon Barrot; but the larger portion of the multitude proceeded along the Boulevards to the Hôtel des Affaires Etrangères, the official residence of M. Guizot. After some hissing and hooting, more serious symptoms of riot were manifested; stones were thrown, windows were broken, and an attempt was made to force the gate. A detachment of the mounted municipal guard, which had been stationed in the court, then sallied forth, and charging the rioters, drove the mob down to the Place de la Concorde, and thence into the Champs Elysées.

It was a great and obvious blunder to drive all the scattered groups into one formidable mass in this open space, where they could do what mischief they pleased, almost without interruption. Lamps were broken, trees were cut down for barricades,

and an attack was made on the station of the Municipal Guard in the Carré Martigny. Slight disturbances and collisions between the multitude and the Municipal Guard took place in other parts of the city, in which lives were lost, and the popular excitement went on increasing. Nevertheless, the Chamber of Deputies met at the usual hour, when M. Odillon presented a copy of his impeachment of the ministers, which was received with some slight ridicule. No allusion was publicly made to the riots; but M. Guizot privately declared to a friend that he felt security for the day, but could not divest himself of anxiety for the night.

At five o'clock in the evening the National Guards were called out by the beating of the *rappel.* They assembled in very ill humour, for they were offended by being forbidden to attend the banquet, and by the manifest reluctance with which the government had had recourse to their services. Instead of being employed to clear the Champs Elysées, they were divided into their several legions, and sent to bivouac in different parts of the city. A little after eight o'clock, Louis-Philippe, accompanied by two of his sons, reviewed a force of about ten thousand men assembled in the Place du Carrousel. The mob, however, retained possession of the Champs Elysées, where they burned all the chairs provided for the accommodation of the public, together with the guard-house in the Carré Martigny, and the stalls occupied by the vendors of refreshments. Some houses were

attacked and robbed of their arms during the night; there were also several smart skirmishes between the rioters and the police, in which the latter generally had the advantage.

The night of Tuesday was cold; the morning of Wednesday sharp and showery. The troops of the line and the divisions of the National Guard who had bivouacked in the streets suffered severely, and this did not tend to reconcile them to the cause in which they were reluctantly engaged. At nine o'clock, the *rappel* again brought out the legions of the National Guard, but it was observed that, as they assembled, they joined the multitude in cheering for "Reform!" and when a body of dragoons prepared to charge a vociferous group, the fifth legion of the National Guard refused to permit such violence, and presented their bayonets to the cavalry. What was still more alarming, a detachment of the troops of the line, sent to attack a barricade in the Rue St. Martin, refused to fire on the insurgents. The municipal guards, however, steadily performed their duty; they had several sharp encounters with the rioters, but they are said to have acted in some cases with unnecessary violence.

Marshal Bugeaud was entrusted with the military command of Paris, but was fettered by his instructions, which prevented him from using force except in case of urgent necessity. He had his head-quarters in the Place du Carrousel, while his reserves were stationed behind the Tuilleries and in the Champs Elysées.

No general plan of insurrection had been formed: barricades were erected as chance or caprice dictated, and the contests for their possession were mere skirmishes. The National Guards sent a deputation to the Chambers with a petition that some measure should be adopted which might satisfy the people, and lead to the restoration of public order. Great confusion prevailed at the Tuilleries. Louis-Philippe exhibited a weakness and indecision quite unusual to him; he was unwilling to resist, he was reluctant to yield; and Guizot, finding that he could not rely on the energetic support which he had been led to expect, tendered his resignation, which was at once accepted.

M. Guizot announced to the Chamber of Deputies that his ministry was at an end, but that he and his colleagues would be responsible for the public tranquillity until their successors were appointed. This intelligence was received with great delight in Paris; the barricades were at once deserted; Royalists and Insurgents embraced each other, and every one rejoiced in what he believed to be the happy termination of civil strife.

Unfortunately, at this critical moment Louis-Philippe could not reconcile himself to appointing Thiers and Odillon Barrot to succeed Guizot. He sent for Count Molé, who was opposed to the Reform party, and who was, furthermore, very unlikely to succeed in forming a cabinet. Precious time was lost; suspicions of the King's sincerity began to be circulated,

and finally, after a long delay, Molé refused to accept office.

In the meantime, the operatives of the Faubourgs, who had been taught that a revolution would double their wages, were dissatisfied at the prospect of tranquillity being restored without anything being done for improving their condition. A large body of these deluded men, headed by an officer of the National Guards, and accompanied by several of this civic militia, came down the western boulevards about ten o'clock at night, shouting for Reform, denouncing curses upon Guizot, and singing revolutionary songs at the top of their voices. Their object appears to have been to attack the Hôtel des Affaires Etrangères, and insult or injure M. Guizot.

The noise of the approaching crowd alarmed the soldiers in the western districts of Paris. The officer on duty at the Hôtel des Affaires Etrangères ordered the guard, consisting of two companies of the 64th regiment of the line, to form across the road, and intercept the passage of the mob. Before the soldiers could bring their bayonets to the charge, the crowd was close upon their files, and their ranks were thrown into some confusion. At this moment, a treacherous Republican, named Lagrange, afterwards a member of the National Assembly, anxious to provoke a collision, fired a pistol at an officer and wounded him severely. Yielding to a momentary exasperation, the commander of the troops ordered his men to fire; a volley was discharged into the dense crowd, and more than fifty

men fell, killed or wounded. In an instant the mob dispersed, and rushing through the streets of Paris, proclaimed that by the treacherous order of the King, the troops were massacring the innocent and deluded citizens. Shortly afterwards, the comrades of the slain having partially rallied, took up the dead bodies, placed them on open waggons lighted by torches, and went in ghastly procession through the principal streets, proclaiming everywhere that the victims had been foully and treacherously butchered.

This was really their sincere belief; few, if any, were aware of the detestable artifice of Lagrange. Indeed, several of the newspapers reported that the shot which provoked the volley had been a mere accident. But there was neither time nor opportunity for investigation; the enemies of Monarchy took advantage of the sad catastrophe to stimulate the popular passions: barricades were formed, arms were resumed, and every preparation made for desperate revolt; while the King and his friends slept tranquilly in the belief that the insurrection was entirely at an end.

Such was the state of affairs, when the morning of Thursday the 24th dawned on Paris. It is inexplicable how the King could have been suffered to remain in ignorance of the dangerous state of the capital. He had a fine park of artillery in the Place du Carrousel, which would soon have demolished the barricades and driven the insurrection back into the Faubourgs. The insurgents were neither numerous

nor unanimous; if they had been kept distinct from the citizens and the soldiers, their own weakness must have compelled them to disperse. But taking advantage of the uncertainty and indecision which everywhere prevailed, they mixed with the National Guards and the troops of the line, until both became unable and unwilling to act against men who professed to regard them as friends and brothers. Louis-Philippe could not be persuaded that he had anything to encounter more serious than a new ministerial combination. It was noon before he consented to accept a Reform cabinet. Thiers was appointed Premier, Odillon Barrot became Minister of the Interior, and Lamoricière, the popular brother-in-law of Thiers, was nominated to the command of the National Guard. In the full belief that these arrangements would restore tranquillity, orders were issued that the military should cease from firing. A barrack, however, belonging to the Municipal Guard, which had been attacked by the mob, continued to be obstinately defended, until it was set on fire and most of its brave defenders were massacred. It was absolutely impossible to discover what were the points really at issue between the government and the insurrection, and this confusion was rendered worse by the orders given to the troops to conciliate the people, which they of course interpreted to mean submission to every demand made by the mob.

At length Odillon Barrot became persuaded that some further sacrifice was necessary. Louis con-

sented to abdicate in favour of his grandson; and the Duchess of Orleans, accompanied by her two sons and the Ducs de Nemours and Montpensier, proceeded to the Chamber of Deputies. About three hundred members were present when the amiable Duchess and her interesting children were introduced. A deep impression was produced on the entire assembly, and particularly on the officers and soldiers of the National Guard, who were present in considerable numbers. A debate ensued on the forms that ought to be observed in consequence of the King's abdication. Every one felt assured that the majority would proclaim the Count de Paris king, under the regency of his mother, when suddenly the doors were forced open, and the hall was filled by an armed and infuriated rabble. Louis Blanc had collected a mob of the worst felons and vagrants of Paris; Ledru Rollin, who had concerted the scheme with Louis Blanc, treacherously gave admission to these wretches before the question was put. They rushed forward with levelled muskets, and threatened destruction to all around. Several of the deputies and officers hastened to save the Duchess of Orleans, and she and the Princes were hurriedly removed. Had they remained their lives would have been in imminent danger.

M. Sauzet, the President of the Chamber, lost his presence of mind. He forgot that, as the King had abdicated, the country no longer had a government, and that therefore the Chamber should not separate

without coming to some decision. An appeal to the National Guard would probably have secured something like freedom of debate; and the troops would have been ready to protect the deputies. Unfortunately, M. Sauzet declared the sitting adjourned, at the very moment when it should have been voted permanent, and quitted the hall accompanied by the great majority of the members. The few who remained behind fraternized with the mob, placed M. Dupont de l'Eure in the chair, and assuming the functions of the legislature, voted by acclamation the immediate installation of a provisional government. The persons elected were

GARNIER PAGES	LEDRU ROLLIN,
ARAGO,	LAMARTINE,
MARIE,	CREMIEUX.

These six gentlemen at once proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, and entered on their administrative functions without seeking any further confirmation of their authority than what they had received from the *gamins* and *forçats*, whom Louis Blanc had hastily got together.

In the meantime an infuriate mob had assailed the Palais Royal, which was obstinately defended by the soldiers or guard for nearly two hours, during which time no effort whatever was made for their relief by the large military force collected in the Carrousel. The troops were without a commander and without orders: a body of the insurgents passed without interruption between their lines, and threw

them into confusion. No one seems to have known what had become of the ministers or the generals; Louis-Philippe was in a pitiable state of alarm and indecision,—no one knew what the insurgents wanted: the battle seemed to be continued without aim or object. At length the defenders of the Palais Royal were overcome; the mob rushed into the royal apartments, destroyed the rich furniture, defaced precious works of art, and sent off the throne to be burnt in front of the column erected to commemorate the revolution of July. Thence the multitude rushed through the Place du Carrousel towards the Tuilleries. The broken ranks of the soldiers could oppose no efficient barrier to the torrent; the Royal Family had barely time to make their escape by the Place de la Concorde; the Princesses were hurried away by the crowd, and Louis-Philippe was obliged to resign his intention of seeking refuge in the Chamber of Deputies, and to escape in a hackney-coach to St. Cloud.

It is utterly impossible to obtain a perfectly intelligible account of the closing scenes of the "Monarchy of July." We find it equally difficult to account for the weakness, negligence, and confusion which reigned in the Tuilleries, and the audacious boldness displayed by the Provisional Government. Before intelligence of the flight of Louis-Philippe could have reached the Hôtel de Ville, these daring men had usurped every function of legitimate authority, and proclaimed a republic in the name of "the sovereign people."

Louis-Philippe and his ministers had so mismanaged and complicated matters during this eventful Thursday, that no choice was left to the citizens of Paris but to accept the Provisional Government or precipitate the country into anarchy. The Monarchy had shown itself utterly incapable of using the abundant means at its disposal for the preservation of order, whilst the Provisional Government displayed an energy and activity which inspired general confidence. Thus, in a few hours, the system which Louis-Philippe had spent seventeen years in establishing was hurled into ruin; the republic of a small minority was accepted by an apathetic majority; and a King, whose throne was perfectly safe in the morning, was on his way to hopeless exile before night.

The presence of Lamartine in the Provisional Government was a principal cause of the ready acceptance of the Republic by the wealthy and middle classes. Dangerous colleagues had been forced on him — men ready to forward the destructive projects of confiscation, which form the creed of social democracy. Ledru Rollin was anxious to revive the severities of the old Jacobins; Blanqui, Barbés, and others urged the mob to demand that heavy contributions should be at once imposed on capitalists and men of property, and Louis Blanc and Albert, *ouvrier*, demanded that national workshops should be erected to realise their wild dreams of the organisation of labour.

Lamartine steadily resisted this revolutionary torrent. He induced the democratic Socialists to aban-

don their intention of substituting the red for the tricolour flag, and consented very reluctantly that Louis Blanc should preside over a commission established in the Luxembourg, to superintend the interests of the operatives.

From the first it was evident that there were marked and irreconcilable differences between the Moderates and the Red Republicans. The latter had taken up arms, not so much against the Monarchy as against the *bourgeoisie* and the ascendancy of property; victory had not in the slightest degree advanced their projects, and every one soon became aware that the real contest had only been suspended and adjourned. The Republic was not a week old before the great majority of the *bourgeoisie* bitterly lamented the change of the government and execrated Louis-Philippe for having thrown away his crown by weakness and vacillation.

This revolution was even less acceptable to the provinces than to Paris. In all the manufacturing towns, indeed, the masses of the operatives were full of hope that the triumph of Socialist principles would produce higher wages for less work, and they were therefore filled with exaltation; but the proprietary classes, including the peasant-landholders, were agitated by just alarms, which were not diminished by their finding that one of the first acts of the Provisional Government was to make a large addition to the direct taxation. The pride of the provinces was further deeply wounded by the new proof given to the

world that Paris was virtually France, and that the form of government for the entire country depended on the caprice or discretion of the mob of the capital This feeling was greatly strengthened by the indiscreet excesses of the Jacobin adventurers whom Ledru Rollin appointed to regulate the affairs of the provinces, with the title of Commissioners. Direct corruption is said to have influenced many of these appointments. This has not been satisfactorily proved, but there certainly was little appearance of merit having been the ground of selection. The rash imprudence and Jacobin insolence of these commissioners provoked a spirit of resistance, which must have ended in war, had not the most obnoxious of them been reluctantly recalled.

The Provisional Government disgusted France with a Republic; the flight of the King inspired it with a contempt for Monarchy. Through the whole of the fatal Thursday, the conduct of Louis-Philippe was characterised by utter imbecility. He did not believe his dynasty in danger until the mob had forced an entrance into his palace, and he then fled to St. Cloud without making a single effort to arrest the downfall of his House. To the very last moment he might have separated the insurgents from the citizens and the soldiers, so as to enable the nature of the contest to be understood and the parties engaged to be distinguished. But while the Republicans pushed forward, while the citizens looked on, while the soldiers were paralysed for want of orders, Louis-Philippe could not be induced

to form any decisive resolution ; but passively allowed himself to be hurried onwards to ruin by the mere force of circumstances.

On reaching St. Cloud, Louis-Philippe, calling for pen, ink, and paper, retired to his closet as if to write some letters. After the lapse of a few minutes, he sent M. Montalivet to inform the officers attending in the ante-chamber, that in the hurry of departure he had forgot to supply himself with money, and to request the loan of a sum sufficient to defray the expenses of his journey. About two hundred francs were hastily collected, and sent by M. Montalivet to the King; an hour elapsed, and the officers were informed that the Royal Family had left the palace, and that they were at liberty to return to Paris. This deplorable instance of weakness and distrust produced a most painful and depressing effect on the minds of all present. They returned to Paris, if not alienated from the Monarchy, certainly hopeless of being able to maintain its cause.

From St. Cloud Louis-Philippe drove to Versailles. No horses could be obtained at the post-house, and he was obliged to use some which belonged to a regiment of cavalry. During the delay, the mayor, the prefect, and some of the other authorities, waited upon him to pay their respects. They describe his state of moral and physical prostration as most pitiable; he replied to their compliments in confused and meaningless phrases, and frequently ejaculated, almost unconsciously, "*Like* Charles X! Like Charles X!"

From Versailles the fugitive party proceeded to Houdan, where they could not obtain a change of horses, but were obliged to push forward to Dreux. They reached this place about eleven at night; in two hours they were joined by the Duc de Montpensier, who brought the certain intelligence that the Provisional Government had been accepted by the citizens of Paris, and that a Republic had been proclaimed. Though Louis-Philippe must have been prepared for this news, it is said to have affected him painfully and powerfully. But it now behoved him to make provision for his personal safety, and the Monarch is said to have adopted a disguise which could hardly be penetrated by his most intimate friends. It was necessary to make another appeal to his attendants before he could continue his journey towards the coast.

Twice during this latter part of the journey, the fugitives were exposed to some danger. At St. André they were stopped by the gendarmes, but Louis-Philippe making himself known to the prefect, obtained, but not without difficulty, permission to proceed. He was unconscious of the greater peril from which he narrowly escaped a little farther on. Some operatives employed in a paper-mill near the Forest of Anet, deeply tainted with the worst passions and principles of the Socialists, had heard of the flight of the Royal Family from Paris, and suspected that they would endeavour to escape by the road which led to the coast. They therefore conspired to intercept the fugitives, but fortunately were so slow

in their proceedings that they did not reach their place of rendezvous, until more than an hour after the carriages had passed.

Guided by a loyal farmer, the Royal party reached Honfleur, where they were concealed by a faithful friend, and thence they passed over to Tourville in the hope of obtaining the means of escape to England. During two days the tempestuous state of the weather prevented any vessel from venturing out. Weary of waiting, the Royal party returned to Honfleur, while the Ex-King's friends made arrangements to secure him a passage in the express steamer, between Havre and Southampton. When everything was ready, the King, closely disguised, was conveyed on board the English packet, which, with all her steam up, waited for him. She started at full speed so soon as the fugitives came on board, and in a few hours the exiles were safe on the hospitable shores of England. They were received with all the respect due to their rank and their misfortunes. King Leopold placed Claremont House at their disposal, and here the late King and Queen of the French took up their abode under the modest title of the Comte and Comtesse de Neuilly, and here they were joined by the principal members of their family, except the Duchess of Orleans and her children, who had escaped over the Belgic frontier.

Such a sudden and terrible reverse of fortune is without a parallel in history. On the morning of the fatal Thursday, none but a few desperate enthusiasts dreamed of a Republic. The Monarchy and a Reform

ministry appeared a possible combination until noon: if Odillon Barrot and General Lamoricière had then called out the National Guard, order would have been restored with little difficulty, or the Socialist insurgents, avowing their atrocious designs, would have forced on the contest which, under far more desperate circumstances, the *bourgeoisie* had to encounter in June. The National Guard, if they had been under arms, would undoubtedly have protected the deputies from the invasion of Louis Blanc's mob of felons and vagrants. If the deputies, when their hall was forced, had removed to some other place and declared their sittings permanent, there is every probability that they could have maintained the Orleans Regency against the Provisional Government. But at the crisis everybody interested in the maintenance of order, had blundered into a false position, and every means of extrication was simultaneously wanting.

The Monarchy might have been saved, but the system of Louis-Philippe was foredoomed to destruction. It was a system of cajolery, deception, and corruption; it was an expensive cheat and a costly delusion. Had Reform been conceded, the system must have crumbled to dust from its own inherent rottenness; the refusal of Reform precipitated its fall by violence.

But this system was not identified with the existence of the Monarchy, though unquestionably it was closely allied to M. Guizot's favourite scheme of concentrating the power and extending the influence of the House of Bourbon. That policy was the fatal

inheritance which devolved on the younger, after the removal of the elder branch. It was a revival of those schemes of Louis XIV. which had already proved so injurious to France and to Europe; it menaced all the liberties of Frenchmen at home, and it introduced dangerous complications into all their relations with foreign States. It justified the belief that the King of the French was ready to sacrifice the interests of his people to those of his family; and these volumes sufficiently prove that the Orleans family had no overwhelming historical claims on the respect, the affection, or the gratitude of France.

THE END

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